University of Alberta

Islam, Democracy And Social Studies Education: A Quest for Possibilities

by

Bernadette Louise Dean

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of Secondary Education

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled ISLAM, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION: A QUEST FOR POSSIBILITIES submitted by Bernadette Louise Dean in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation of possibilities for social studies education to prepare students for democratic citizenship in Pakistan. A review of the history of Pakistan reveals that Pakistan has had a long experience of dictatorship and elitist democracy, and social studies education has been used to serve the interests of the ruling elitists and maintain the status quo. The study argues that the current practice of citizenship education in both religious and secular schools in Pakistan follows a citizenship transmission model that provides an education more suitable to dictatorship or elitist democracy.

An exploration of possibilities begins with a description of forms of democracy and resultant citizenship educational practices. Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics and Habermas's critical hermeneutics are then employed as a means of engaging education officials and teachers in conversation which envision a democratic society in Pakistan and in exploring possibilities for its realization through changes in education policy and classroom practice. Conversations revealed that education officials recognize the important role of education in preparing citizens for a democratic society in Pakistan. They called for the restructuring of Pakistan's educational system and reconceptualization of social studies education to prepare students for democratic citizenship.

Action research with three teachers enabled a critical inquiry into teaching practice aimed at preparing students for democratic citizenship. The reflective practice of action research revealed the assumptions of existing teaching practices. Participatory critical reflection enabled the development of new practices more in tune with an education for democracy. The action research also revealed the possibilities that

collaborative action among teachers and with universities offer for professional development and restructuring schools.

The study concludes by drawing upon the insights gained from the research to suggest possibilities for education policy, curriculum development, school change and teacher education in Pakistan that will prepare students to work towards creating a democratic society while courageously acting as if they are already living in a democratic society.

DEDICATION

In memory of my mother whose love made it possible for me to dream.

For Derrick, my husband, for dreaming with me and journeying together in efforts to realize them.

For Sohni and Zahra, and all the children they represent, whose dreams of living in a democratic society will depend, in part, on the transformation of education in Pakistan.

In memory of Anila whose participation in this study demonstrated the possibility of realizing the dream in Pakistani schools.

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Chapter One

THE QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE QUESTION

As citizens, we are continually experiencing the world and trying to understand it. Some experiences imply questions which breach the taken-for-granted, bring us up short, draw our attention, and compel us to address them. My own experience as a citizen of Pakistan and a teacher of social studies gave rise to these questions: How can we realize the potential of social studies education for democratic citizenship? and What does it mean for teacher development and curriculum development? These questions have arisen from situations I have encountered and experiences I have had during my personal development within the Pakistani context in general and the education system in particular. I have lived with these questions for many years, and they have been implicit in my thinking and practices. Now, as a teacher educator preparing social studies teachers to educate the future citizens of Pakistan, I feel the need to address these questions explicitly. This study was an attempt to address these questions.

PERSONAL POSITION IN THE QUESTION

The Beginning of Insight

As a teenager, I joined a group whose purpose was to conscientize young people. When introduced to the idea that poverty and injustice were due to sociopolitical and economic structures, I reacted negatively to the view that the political and economic elite could be blamed for the laziness of the poor. Coming from the sheltered life of a middle class family with middle class values and political naiveté, I believed the poor lived in a situation of their own making. Over the years, reading Freire's works, the writings of liberation theologians like Torres, Guiterrez, and Boff, participating in discussions about their ideas and the first-hand experience of the reality of the people I worked with in the slums of Karachi caused me to question the reality I had taken as given. Recognizing the structural nature of the injustice and inequality, I have endeavored to work towards more

just relationships in my own home, classroom, and the wider social context. In all these contexts, I am presented with the dual and antagonistic challenge of dealing with the existing reality as I strive to change that reality. I will share a few experiences here that relate to, and might help explain why I have taken the positions in this study.

In the late 1970s, when I became of voting age, non-Muslims in Pakistan (of whom I am one) were declared minorities and required to vote under a separate electorate system, causing them to be treated in their own country as second-class citizens. The people of Pakistan, already divided by class, gender, language and ethnicity were now further divided by religion into a majority and a minority group. I had been privileged, but, becoming a religious minority gave me the first-hand experience of being deprived of my civil, political and social rights. This experience led to efforts to get Christians to eschew separate electorates and demand equal rights.

Personal Stories

In the slum where I worked, primarily as teacher and health care worker, I was asked to get a man released from the *thana* (police station) and to put up bail to release another from jail, both arrested on charges fabricated by the police to extort money. One day, soon after, when I was teaching, word spread that the police had entered the slum and every adult male, many without even wearing their slippers, had vanished. I learned that the police came regularly into the slum, picked up adult males and accused them of stealing, selling liquor illegally, and possession of weapons. On payment of the money demanded, the accused was released. As the payments being demanded increased, the people became desperate to be relieved of this problem. We held a community meeting during which we decided to take action. Community members were to record the date a person was arrested, the *thana* at which they were held, the sum of money requested, and the names of the person(s) asking and accepting the money.

Armed with this data, we approached the station house officers (SHOs) of the respective *thanas*, all of whom denied the charges and accused us of protecting criminals. We lodged complaints with the Superintendent of Police and the Inspector General, but the raids continued. We finally approached the martial law authorities who listened to

our complaint and requested time to investigate. One day, when we were trying to push our case, the martial law administrator asked the whereabouts of the people we were representing. I reminded him that since we barely made it through the gate; people from the slums would surely find it impossible to enter. However, now that he had asked, they would come with us in the future.

On the day the case was to be decided, about two hundred men and women from the slum came to the office and the martial law administrator was visibly concerned, foreseeing potential conflict. After discussions, the people were warned not to engage in any illegal activities, the police and their touts were told not to harass the people, and we were told not to bring the people to the office in the future. The people were jubilant when they saw the effect of their actions.

When I became head of a primary school in an area that was little better than a slum, the teachers would regularly ask me to remind students to come to school in neat and clean uniforms, which I did. However, when I was asked by a teacher to beat a student because his uniform was very dirty, I thought something was wrong. No one in the area had piped water, and water was only available for a few hours each day. There were only dirt roads and no sewerage system. Ironically, the school uniform was white.

I started discussions with the teachers pointing to the realities of the context in which the students lived, and to the fact that we were punishing the victims. I wondered how we could address the problem. After many discussions, we decided to change the color of the uniform. The head in charge of the secondary school did not feel that one section could have a different uniform, so the issue was brought up in a joint staff meeting. Initially the meeting divided along primary secondary lines; however, after much deliberation, the change was agreed to. A similar process was used to deal with issues of literacy, truancy, and assessment. The teachers started to become aware of the complexity of their work as teachers. As a result of their self-empowerment, these teachers were promoted to the secondary section or sought after by other schools.

Now, as a teacher educator, I see my role as working with teachers to encourage them to come to an understanding of themselves as "transformative intellectuals," to use Giroux's phrase (1988). Being a teacher educator has entailed engaging teachers in

critical reflection to see the relationship between education and society, and how the technocratic rationality guiding their practice has been constituted by, and serves to maintain the existing society. Because my purpose is not only understanding or critiquing, but encouraging transformation, I see the need for teachers to engage in constructing emancipatory practices that will prepare students with the knowledge and skills to critique society and the courage to act to change society. In a developing country like Pakistan, it is imperative that teachers, in their role as transformative intellectuals, not confine themselves to their classroom or school, but see themselves as agents of change in the larger society with the purpose of creating a more just society.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Pakistan was created in the process of decolonization following World War II, and in the realization by the Muslims of India that they did not want a change of rulers, but the right to determine their own future. When Pakistan came into being, it had to choose its political system. It could have chosen monarchy, a legacy of the Mughals and its colonial past. Having demanded freedom so Muslims could live in accordance with Islam, it could also have chosen theocracy. The political leaders, however, chose democracy. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on August 11, 1947, addressing members of the first constituent assembly, said:

> We are starting with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state...Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you would find in due course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state...You may belong to any religion, caste or creed - that has nothing to do with the business of the state. (quoted in Rashid, 1985, p. 81)

While the constituent assembly worked to frame a constitution based on these ideals, Jinnah ruled in the viceregal tradition, seeing it as the most efficient way to deal with the pressing issues of the new state. The death of Jinnah in 1948, resulted in the redefinition of the goals he had striven for. A struggle began between those who envisioned Pakistan

as a secular, democratic state and those who believed it should be an Islamic, theocratic state. Following Jinnah, viceregalism was sustained and personality politics took precedence over institution building. These tensions about the nature of the state and form of government have persisted throughout the history of Pakistan.

The idea of creating Pakistan had resonated among the Muslims living in Muslim minority provinces in India, but the Muslim majority areas of East Bengal, Punjab and Sindh acceded to Pakistan only at the time of independence. The Baloch and Pathan areas were reluctant to join because of the absence of an agreed upon political framework (Kazi, 1991). In some ways, the Muslim majority areas were already self-governing, independence meant giving up traditional power (based on tribe, kinship, land) to those on whom legal power was conferred. They agreed to do this because Pakistan was to be a federation in which political power would not be centralized but would devolve to the provinces. Instead of attaining provincial autonomy in 1955, the provinces were amalgamated into "one unit" in an attempt to promote unity and eliminate ethnic differences. Popular unrest and pressure for autonomy by the provinces led to the abolition of the one unit in 1968. Failure of successive governments to grant provincial autonomy or ensure the socioeconomic, political and cultural well-being of ethnic nationalities resulted in the loss of East Pakistan in 1971, and is the basis of the serious ethnic conflicts today.

The tension of "tradition versus modernity" can best be expressed in regard to gender. Pakistan is one of the few countries in the world in which the number of men is greater than that of women in the population -- 100 men to 93 women. The total literacy rate is 45 percent, whereas the literacy rate for women is only 32.6 percent (Government of Pakistan 1998a, p.111). The low literacy rate for women will likely continue to stay relatively low, given the ratio of two boys' schools to each girls' school (Warwick and Reimers, 1995). Progressive Islamic movements and progressive Muslim scholars in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries recognized the discrepancy between Quranic reforms which had greatly improved women's status in the seventh century, and women's social status in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They called for a reinterpretation and reformulation of Islam in the light of contemporary sociopolitical contexts. For

example, according to Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) polygamy had been permitted in the Prophet's time as a concession to prevailing social conditions. He noted that the true intent of the *Qur'an* (4:3 and 4:129) was monogamy, because another wife was permissible only when equal justice and impartiality was guaranteed, which he concluded was impossible (Esposito, 1991). These ideas led to emancipation movements among upper and middle class women and to the passing of laws, such as the Muslim Family Law Ordinance (1961), which brought reforms in areas such as marriage, divorce and inheritance. Thus, legislation was enacted to eliminate child marriages, restrict polygamy, curtail a man's (and increase a woman's) right to divorce. However, in 1977, the Islamization policy of General Zia-ul-Haq sought to reverse gains in women's rights and to reinforce traditional and regressive attitudes and customs towards women through a fundamentalist interpretation of the *Qur'an* and *Shari'ah*. Today women are once again actively challenging traditional attitudes and customs and seeking legislation that will give them equality.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

The education offered in Pakistan does not address the issues of governance, cultural differences or gender. In fact it ignores such tensions to the point that education's relevance to society is being questioned. The education system is unable to address these issues because it suffers from a crisis of quantity, quality and relevance. The crisis of quantity is evident in the following statistics. In a population of 131 million, 27.9 million children are not enrolled in school, and 43.5 million adults above the age of fifteen are illiterate (UNDP, 1993). Primary enrollment represents only 74 percent of children with 52 percent of them dropping out before reaching class five. Secondary enrollment is 26 percent, and higher education enrollment is 1.9 percent of the relevant age groups (Human Development Centre, 1999). These overall statistics hide as much as they reveal. In this case they conceal the fact that the situation is worse in rural areas and among females.

In Pakistan, all public schools and most private schools (with the exception of a few elite private Cambridge schools where students sit for the GCE examinations) follow

a uniform curriculum. For most teachers, the curriculum is the textbook. Teaching and learning follows what Freire (1970) calls "the banking concept of education" where teachers "deposit" textbook facts into "empty" students who are expected to memorize and regurgitate these facts on examinations. Since the education system is driven by examinations that assess students' knowledge of textbook facts, teachers are trained in methods (lecture and recitation) to ensure students know the facts. If, by quality education, one means churning out parrots, then "Pakistani schools would surely walk away with all the prizes" (Hoodbhoy, 1998, p. 5).

Every education policy and every book written on education in Pakistan laments the declining relevance of education to the lives of Pakistanis and to Pakistani society. The 1998 education policy sums it up well:

> Our system neither caters to the needs of changing demands in enhancing employment opportunities, nor makes society more humanistic. In a world of hardship and chaos, there would be little sympathy for educational approaches not suitable to lead to affluence and satisfaction. The education as a whole has to be humanistic and egalitarian to share resources, skills and provide services to the less advantaged sections of the society....Education had been used as a change agent in all societies but the dilemma in our context is that we are inclined to use education to perpetuate tradition. This is not to undermine our proud heritage of Islamic values but to sharpen the philosophical concerns to fulfill the future needs. (Government of Pakistan, 1998b, pp. 7-10)

Hoodbhoy (1998), in the preface to *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan* discusses the relevance of education, and questions whether the education provided in Pakistani schools, colleges and universities "has relevance in a modern society and can enhance employability and social consciousness, and can be an instrument of liberation and positive social change" (pp. 7-8). He suggests "that society regard education as a vehicle for change and progress instead of a means of simply preserving tradition and culture" (p. 11).

This analysis leads educators to suggest that the purpose of education in Pakistan should be the development of a democratic society, and calls for the "democratization of education" in terms of access, content and practice as well as in its provision, facilitation

and monitoring. The 1998 education policy therefore specifically mentions the need for the, "[d]emocratization of education...as a basic requirement for economic development, modernization of social structure and for providing equality of opportunity for all citizens" (p. 29). It also calls for a "grand alliance between and among the government, private sector, and donors" (p. 25) in the provision of education.

The education policy urges that education should serve the creation of a democratic society in Pakistan. It is important to clarify our understanding of democracy and citizenship, for these are contested concepts. I want to briefly outline the nature of these contests even though it is not my task to propose specific ways of addressing them.

PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

Conceptual Ambiguities

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, democracy is by far the most dominant political system in the world. The meaning of democracy, however, is as ambiguous as ever. And the ambiguity is more useful than ever today, because evoking the term "democracy" can be used to justify anything people want to do (Apple and Beane, 1995). One can understand the use of the word "democracy" when people call for greater civil rights or freedom of speech. Democracy, however, is also evoked to further the causes of free market economies. Democratically elected leaders can become dictators, and dictators claim they are acting democratically. Citizens in democratic societies in the Western world are becoming passive and apathetic (Barber, 1984; 1998b) and in the Third World the oppressed and voiceless are struggling for democracy.

While democracy is generally seen as a secular concept, with the state being blind to the religious beliefs of its citizens, Esposito and Voll (1996) note that the late twentieth century has seen an increased demand for political participation and empowerment (democracy) and demand for the recognition of special identities (cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious). In the case of the Muslim world (of which Pakistan is a part) the concept of "Islamic democracy," has sprung up. There are in Islamic history, a number of important concepts and images that shape contemporary visions of what a democratic society should be. Esposito and Voll also note that the authoritarianism seen in some

Muslim countries "comes less from religious doctrine than politics and power, history and political culture" (p. 198).

Contested Concept

Debates over the meaning of citizenship can be briefly outlined as clashes between individual rights and common values, with proponents of each trying to find common ground. Another debate is between radical followers of Marx and moderate social democrats about the degree to which social rights must be expanded and the conflict that emerges between civil, political and social rights. In addition to working class demands, women, ethnic, and minority groups are also demanding rights. Women claim that citizenship is defined in opposition to women and the sphere of work relegated to them, and fails to deal with the private-public dichotomy. They note it is not simply a matter of including them, but of reconceptualizing the very idea of citizenship. Immigrants' (culturally different) and guest workers' demands for citizenship rights have led Kymlicka (1998) to propose fourth generation cultural rights, in addition to civil, political and social rights.

A Working Definition

Given the contested nature of democracy and citizenship, it is important to establish my own working definition of democracy. First, however, I want to state what is generally meant by democracy.

Democracy is a form of government based on the consent of the people and equality of opportunity. In a democracy the citizens of a country, through elections, choose people who will govern them, that is, make governance decisions on public matters. Citizens are equal before the law, and the state should ensure equal opportunity to education and work.

Regarding governance, I borrow Barber's (1984) notion of "strong democracy" or the Islamic notion of "popular sovereignty" in which citizens govern themselves through ongoing participation in decision-making about matters that affect them. Regarding equality, democracy is conceptualized most often in terms of electoral equity and

sometimes in terms of equality of opportunity. But electoral equity -- even when combined with equality of opportunity -- are insufficient conditions for democracy given the economic and social inequality in most societies. A reconceptualization of equality as equality of worth and rights is required, even if skills of strength and intellect differ. Based on this notion, the state should ensure equality of opportunity and preferential options for the disadvantaged groups in society. A third aspect is that of freedom. Like Dewey, I believe freedom is essential for individual and social development. I think this requires that we move beyond the notion of freedom from restraints -- a protectionist view of freedom -- to reconciling the demands of individual liberty with those of human rights, equality in dignity and rights and popular sovereignty, equally significant aspects of democracy (Kelly, 1995).

Such an understanding of democracy will require certain conditions for its development. Among these conditions are the provision of human rights, pre-eminent among which is the entitlement to education for all and preferential treatment to disadvantaged groups so all can develop their potential to the fullest; a free flow of information so people are informed; creating spaces and opportunities for individuals to critically reflect, analyze, discuss and decide issues and resolve problems in the interest of the common good; and the democratic structure and dynamics of all social institutions.

Given this understanding of democracy and the conditions for its realization, the education system which attempts to prepare citizens who strive to create a democratic Pakistani society would have to differ greatly from the one I have described above. It would necessitate schools becoming more democratic both in organization and practice. It would require classroom practices whose aim is not for students to preserve tradition and culture but whose

> primary purpose must be to stimulate their passions, imaginations, and intellects so that they will be moved to challenge the social, political, and economic forces that weigh so heavily upon their lives and students should be educated to display civic courage, i.e., the willingness to act *as if* they were living in a democratic society. (Giroux, 1983, p. 201)

I have only briefly dealt with the meaning of democracy and education for democratic citizenship. In a critically guided interpretive study such as this, the meanings will be clarified as I work with the participants of this study.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the possibility of educating students for democratic citizenship in Pakistan through the teaching of social studies. Schooling in general, and the teaching of social studies in particular, are considered necessary for the development of the "educated person" so central for the creation and maintenance of democratic society. Exploring possibilities will be derived through conversations with ministry officials, analysis of curriculum documents and through collaborative action research with teachers.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Through reflection on my personal experience as a social studies teacher, on the sociopolitical context and the education system in Pakistan, I have arrived at some questions which guide my inquiry into educating for democratic citizenship through the social studies in Pakistan. The major guiding questions for this study are: How can we realize the potential of social studies education for democratic citizenship? and What does it mean for teacher development and curriculum development? Many specific questions guide the inquiry into this major question. They are:

1. What are educators' current understandings of democratic citizenship, schooling and social studies education in Pakistan?
2. Why have schools come to be the way they are today?
3. In what ways has social studies been understood and practiced in Pakistan?
4. What notions of citizenship do these understandings portray?
5. What kind of society do educators envision?
6. What alternative understandings and practices of social studies can we explore to foster the development of democratic citizenship in Pakistan?
7. What are the implications of these practices for school change?

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study has seven chapters. Chapter one introduces the study by describing the personal, societal and educational context from which the question arose and an understanding of democratic citizenship that guides the study. Chapter two reviews the discourses of democracy in the liberal, Marxist and Islamic traditions. It also delineates the conceptions of citizenship education that arise from the different democratic traditions and argues for reconceptualizing democratic citizenship education in Pakistan as liberatory praxis. Chapter three delineates the methodology used for this study which included hermeneutic inquiry, action research and document analysis.

In chapter four, I have used historical analysis to trace the origins and development of current educational practices and to understand how social studies education has come to be the way it is. A critical analysis of the social studies curriculum is also undertaken. Chapter five presents the conversations with education officials addressing the questions of democracy, schooling and social studies. Chapter six provides an account of the individual and collaborative classroom action research projects undertaken with three teachers in Karachi. The chapter provides a description of their educational biographies and their teacher education. The teachers' action research projects and our conversational reflections on the research follows. Finally in Chapter seven, I consider what my findings indicate for education for democratic citizenship in social studies classrooms, and I discuss implications for educational policy, curriculum development, teacher education, and school change.

Chapter Two

CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSES ON DEMOCRACY, CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

SOCIAL STUDIES AS CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The raison d'être of social studies education in a democratic society is the preparation for democratic citizenship (Kaltsounis, 1994; Osborne, 1997; Sears, 1996b). This means preparing students with the knowledge, intellectual and interpersonal skills required for active and responsible participation in a democracy and the courage to act to make society more democratic. However, as I have noted earlier, democracy has a variety of interpretations. This chapter attempts to delineate some of the contemporary and historical discourses on democracy in the Western liberal, the Marxist and the Islamic tradition. Particular attention will be given to how these have influenced the organization and practices of education in schools and social studies classrooms in Pakistan.

UNDERSTANDINGS OF DEMOCRACY

Western Liberal Tradition

The Latin root word of liberalism is *liber*, meaning a free person; and the nearest Latin equivalent to *liber* is *liberalis,* which means befitting a free person (Wintrop, 1983). Democracy comes from two Greek words, *demos* meaning people and *cratein* meaning rule. Democracy therefore means rule by the people. The term liberal democracy implies that, for a free person, the only fitting form of government is self-government. However, in a society in which there is socioeconomic inequality, the freedom to participate as equals in governance, which is the prerequisite of democracy, is jeopardized. A society divided into classes with opposing interests will likely result in governance in the interest of the ruling class, rather than in the common good. In this section I will trace the relationship between liberalism and democracy, both, historically and thematically. To do this I draw on the work of Crawford Brough Macpherson (1977) who argues that, as soon as attention is focused on the relationship between class and democracy, a pattern emerges.

Macpherson (1977) argues that from Plato and Aristotle down to the nineteenth century, "democracy was defined as rule by the poor, the ignorant, and the incompetent at the expense of the leisured, civilized, propertied classes" (p. 10). Democracy was interpreted by the upper classes as "class rule, rule by the wrong class" (p. 10). The upper classes saw democracy as a threat, incompatible with liberty and hierarchy. Therefore, until the nineteenth century, the Western tradition was undemocratic. Macpherson further notes that during the same period there were democratic visions, democratic advocates and even democracy in practice, although these never included an entire community. Pre-nineteenth century visionaries and advocates saw democracy as a classless (no individual ownership of productive land) or one class (everyone owns or is in a position to own property) society, not merely as a system of government that would fit the class structure of the existing society. This, according to Macpherson, is in sharp contrast to the liberal democratic tradition since the early nineteenth century, which accepted class-divided society and set out to fit a democratic structure onto it. Macpherson argues that liberal democracy -- one person, one vote -- became possible because there was little threat to class privilege in a class-divided society, and because of the habitual deference of the lower to the higher classes. Before dealing with liberal democracy, I will first look at democratic theory prior to the nineteenth century.

Precursors to Liberal Democracy

The concept of democracy can be traced back to the Greeks. Aristotle first referred to democracy in *Politics* where he analyzes various forms of democracy, which included a property requirement for voting, and argued for an aristocratic type of state. Resnick (1990) points out that Aristotle had a negative view of the *banausic* (mechanical) classes and a deprecatory view of the undisciplined life which he believed democracy tends to foster. Aristotle, therefore, calls for a population royal that would "produce a breed of outstanding virtue fitting for leadership in the state" and "aristocratic" one that is "governed by those whose virtue equips them to be leaders in the holding of offices in the state" (Aristotle, quoted in Resnick, 1990, p. 14).

Macpherson noted that, in the Middle Ages, one did not find democratic theories or calls for democratic franchise. This might have been because societies in the middle ages were feudalistic and power depended on one's rank in society. In nations and city-states of the later Middle Ages, the popular uprisings of the time were related to demands for equality through leveling ranks and property, rather than for power through a democratic political structure. Democratic theories for a fundamentally equal and liberated society and for a democratic form of government appear in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but these theories call for a classless (More's *Utopia* and Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom*) or one class (Levellers) society and for limited (Presbyterians and Independents) or full democratic franchise (some Levellers). Some of these democratic theories were put into practice in church government and also briefly in the army. These democratic ideas and practices also influenced civil government, especially during the English Civil Wars and the Commonwealth period.

From the above, it is obvious that an aristocratic spirit pervaded democratic theory in the Western tradition until the eighteenth century. Not all people in this tradition were regarded as possessing the potential to live a free life nor to rule. Macpherson argues, and I agree, that in the eighteenth century there were political theorists and actors who could quite properly be called "democratic" as they demanded full democratic franchise and economic equality. Jean Jacques Rousseau in France (1712-1778) and Thomas Jefferson in America (1743-1826), though different in other respects, both saw private property as a right. Rousseau argued that the right to land had to be limited in two ways: "a man must occupy only the amount he needs for his subsistence; and ... possession must be taken...by labour and cultivation" (Rousseau, 1762/1913, p. 17). He suggested limiting property rights for a more important reason -- the sovereignty of the people. For Rousseau, economic equality was essential for sovereignty of the general will. Without it, he argued, people would rule in class interest rather than for the common good. An important function of the government then was to prevent extreme inequality.

The democracy of Jefferson required a society in which everyone was economically independent. Unlike Rousseau, Jefferson did not see everyone as a worker-proprietor. He did not object to people owning huge estates as long as everyone had an

estate or work sufficient to make him independent. Jefferson, like Rousseau, realized economic independence was essential for democracy. In a letter to John Adams he wrote

> Here everyone may have land to labour for himself, if he chooses; or preferring the exercise of any other industry, may exact for it such compensation as not only to afford a comfortable subsistence, but wherewith to provide for a cessation from labor in old age...And such men may safely and advantageously reserve to themselves a wholesome control over their public affairs, and a degree of freedom. (Jefferson, 1813, quoted in Macpherson, 1977, p. 18)

Jefferson's prerequisite for democracy like Rousseau's was equality of economic opportunity. One limitation of pre-nineteenth century democracy was that it left out women, who were regarded as a subordinate class because they were unable to own productive property in their own right.

Macpherson (1977) argues that a sharp break occurred in the path from pre-liberal to liberal democracy. Pre-liberal conceptions of democratic society as classless or one-class were rejected. Liberal democracy, on the contrary, accepted class divisions and built on these. Macpherson attributes this change to the fact that, before the expansion of the right to vote, the institutions and ideology of liberal individualism were firmly established. Accepting the competitive capitalist market society and the laws of classical political economy, liberal democrats developed new models of people and society.

Protective Democracy

The two earliest systematic exponents of liberal democracy are Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and James Mill (1773-1836). Bentham's theory was based on the utilitarian principle of "greatest happiness for the greatest number," with happiness being defined as the amount of pleasure minus pain. In his view, human beings were concerned only with maximizing their own pleasure and avoiding pain. Although Bentham set out a long list of pleasures (material and non-material), he believed that material possessions were basic to the attainment of all other satisfactions. He wrote, "Each portion of wealth has a corresponding portion of happiness" (Bentham, 1831, quoted in Macpherson, p. 25). Bentham envisaged society as a collection of individuals seeking pleasure, in actuality,

wealth and power, over and at the expense of each other. To maintain society, a structure of law was needed: laws which would produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number. This society required a set of lawmakers and law enforcers who would promote a free market and safeguard the individual from a strong government.

Helped by James Mill, Bentham came to the view that the best way for individuals to safeguard their own interests was to provide universal franchise by letting individuals themselves choose and remove governors through frequent elections and secret ballots. However, both Bentham and Mill put restrictions on universal franchise. Bentham excluded women fearing no parliamentary reform would take place if they were included, and James Mill argued that "all those individuals whose interest are indisputably included in those of other individuals, may be struck off without inconvenience" (Mill, 1814/1937, p. 45). The founding model of democracy in the modern industrial age was not seen as a morally transformative force but as a protection of the private interests of individuals in a society. Macpherson (1977) writes, "The founding model of democracy took man as he was, man as he had been shaped by market society, and assumed that he was unalterable" (p. 43). It was on this point that the Benthamist model was attacked and a developmental model of John Stuart Mill proposed.

Developmental Democracy

By the middle of the nineteenth century the working classes were beginning to challenge the idea of property as their human conditions were deteriorating. John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), the son of James Mill, could not accept the inhuman conditions of the working classes as morally justifiable or economically inevitable. He came to abandon the Benthamite theory of people, society, and democracy, and to replace them with a more positive and moral model. J. S. Mill did not believe that individuals were simply consumers and appropriators, but argued they possessed other powers and capacities that could be developed.

The good society was one in which individuals could develop their human capacities to advance such a society. J. S. Mill made a case for a democratic political system which would not only have a protective role but would also contribute to human

development. Such a system would achieve this by the involvement of all citizens in the choice of government and this would require that they be informed, and form their decisions in discussion with others. Democracy would thus advance them in intelligence, virtue, and in practical activity (Mill, 1861).

J. S. Mill wanted to promote equality, but his fear of anarchy and hatred of mediocrity led him to propose that everyone should have at least one vote, but the more highly educated should have several votes. The weighting he gave to knowledge led him to recommend an expert non-elected commission to make and amend legislation. He felt that another way society would develop people's capacities would be through cooperation. He deplored the effects of the class-ridden society and proposed the setting up of cooperatives where workers would work for themselves to promote equality. He hoped the cooperatives would result in better workmanship, more efficient production and would displace the capitalist organization of production:

> the healing of the standing feud between capital and labour; the transformation of human life, from a conflict of classes struggling for opposite interests, to a friendly rivalry in the pursuit of a good common to all; the elevation of the dignity of labour; a new sense of security and independence in the labouring class; and the conversion of each human being's daily occupation into a school of the social sympathies and practical intelligence. (Mill, quoted in Macpherson, 1977, p. 61)

J. S. Mill's model was moral, but it was still fundamentally elitist. He believed the educated were better than others and should be entitled to more political weight. However, his followers dropped his non-egalitarian stipulations of plural voting and a non-elected commission, retaining his main developmental case.

Social Democracy

At the end of the nineteenth century a group of liberal thinkers arose, including Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882) in Britain and John Dewey (1859-1952) in America. These liberals "championed for economic interventionist policies, welfare measures, and a redistribution of wealth to remedy unemployment and poverty" (Wintrop, 1983, p. 85) in the desire for a more egalitarian society. The writings of Green are representative of

social democratic liberalism. Unlike the protectionists, who saw government as forcing individuals to submit to its laws, Green saw political community not as relying on force, but on consent of its citizens to freely accept their responsibilities to the state and to others. In so doing, their own lives and liberties would be respected and promoted.

Green, envisioned freedom as an act that benefits, directly or indirectly, the actor and others. It was an act allowed to others and an act which one enjoyed because it was worth doing. The principal purpose of the state or government was to continually secure and advance the common good by removing obstacles and providing favorable conditions for the development of the people. The common good required the exercise and advancement of freedom and rights which groups claimed for themselves and granted to others, and the moral development of citizens. Green's theory of state and character of liberal-democratic politics could thus be described as citizen-based.

Green formulated his views on liberal democracy during the time when a split was occurring in liberal democratic tradition between capitalism and socialism. He refused to take sides. In agreement with the socialists, he believed political rights were a mockery given the inhuman conditions of laborers and he urged the state to deal with poverty. He proposed a graduated income tax to support welfare measures and laws to strengthen the bargaining power of labor. He disagreed with the socialists, noting that the failures were not due to capitalism, but to the misunderstanding of it. His own view of property was that it made the free life possible, and it was subordinate to the common good.

> Just as the recognized interest of a society constitutes for each member of it the right to free life... so it constitutes the right to the instruments of such life, making each regard the possession of them by the other as for the common good, and thus through the medium first of custom, then of law, securing them to each. (Green,1941, pp. 216-217)

This view that property was necessary for the free life and its possession was subordinate to the common good represented a major break from previous liberal thought and had a major influence on Western governments. Green noted that legal rights to property were not inviolable, as Locke had claimed, and contended that, when forms of property ownership were incompatible with the principles on which property ownership

was grounded, the state had the right to legislate to remedy the situation. He proposed the state legislate to help laborers become property owners so that they could acquire the means to live free and political lives. Green's theorizing about property became a bridge from liberal democracy to democratic socialism.

The social democrats, when included in the liberal tradition, show that liberalism is not necessarily characterized by an atomistic-individualistic way of seeing society. Nor is it tied to narrow conceptions of rights and liberty or the ideology of modern capitalism. In Green's writing, obviously after Marx's *Das Kapital,* social democrats tried to find a middle path between the status quo and revolution by drawing on the past and revolutionary concepts of the present to suggest alternative ways of organizing society.

The political thinking in liberalism, since the latter part of the twentieth century, has revolved around two main ideas: participatory democracy as best propounded by Benjamin, R. Barber (1984, 1998a, 1998b) and new libertarianism, seen in the writings of F.A. Hayek and Milton Friedman who advocate a society in which the primary mechanism of integration is the market. Barber seeks to strengthen the "democracy" in liberal democracy by proposing a strong democracy. In what Brugger (1983) calls, new libertarianism, Hayek and Friedman seem to loosen, if not altogether destroy, the "democracy" in liberal democracy. I will deal briefly with the two models.

Participatory Democracy

When Macpherson wrote the book *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy* in 1977, he noted "Participatory democracy is certainly not a model...it began as a slogan of the New Left student movements of the 1960s...[and] spread to the working class" (p. 93). The question he attempted to address in discussing the model was whether a change in the political system was a prerequisite for change in society or vice versa. Macpherson addressed ways to bring a change in the political system and proposed that it be linked with the ethical principles on which developmental democracy is built.

The strongest proponent of participatory democracy today is Benjamin Barber (1984, 1998a, 1998b). He terms participatory democracy "strong democracy," which he defines as being:

> politics in the participatory mode where conflict is resolved in the absence of an independent ground through a participatory process of ongoing, proximate self-legislation and the creation of a political community capable of transforming dependent, private individuals into free citizens and partial and private interests into public goods. (Barber, 1984, p. 132)

Strong democracy rests on the idea of a self-governing community of citizens who come together to take action in the interest of the common good. For Barber, the ultimate political problem, therefore, is one of action -- not truth or even justice in the abstract sense -- and the citizen is a political actor, not a speculative philosopher:

> To be political is to have to chose - and, what is worse to choose under the worst possible circumstances, when the grounds of choice are not given a priori or by fiat or by pure knowledge (*episteme*). To be political is thus to be free with a vengeance - to be free in the unwelcome sense of being without guiding standards or determining norms yet under an ineluctable pressure to act, and to act with deliberation and responsibility as well (Barber, 1984, p. 121).

Strong democratic theory posits the social nature of human beings and the mutual interdependence between individuals and government. Because of the mutual interdependence between individuals and community both aspects of the civic relationship, the democratic community and the democratic citizen must be developed. Barber proposes ways of extending the facilitating factors in present western society such as civic education, leadership, religion and patriotism, and addressing the limiting factors of scale, structural inequality, rights and the uncertainty of human vision both private and public, in an uncertain world.

Barber responds to Macpherson's question of the primacy of politics or economics by stating "Our fundamental argument for strong democracy places politics before economics and suggests that only through civic revitalization can we hope, eventually for greater economic democracy." He goes on to suggest worker-owned cooperatives "not only serve economic egalitarianism but foster civic spirit" (1984, p. 305).

New Libertarianism

New libertarians believe that the switch in liberal thinking in the mid nineteenth century was the beginning of a process of decay which resulted in excessive interference by the state in the lives of citizens and in a movement towards totalitarianism. Hayek's (1944) book *The Road to Serfdom* expressed this idea. New libertarians oppose the present welfare state calling, for example, for the removal of subsidies on agriculture, reduction of state provision for social security and pensions, and denationalization of public schooling. New libertarians propose a minimal state, a state concerned with formulating monetary, fiscal and budgetary policies and arbitrating and enforcing them. Friedman (1962) advocates a society in which the primary mechanism of integration is the market:

> The widespread use of the market reduces the strain on the social fabric by rendering conformity unnecessary with respect to any activities it encompasses. The wider the range of activities covered by the market, the fewer are the issues on which explicitly political decisions are required and hence on which it is necessary to achieve agreement. In turn, the fewer the issues on which agreement is necessary, the greater is the likelihood of getting agreement while maintaining a free society. (p. 24)

From his analysis of American democracy, Friedman (1962) concludes that majority rule is actually a coalition of minorities who have entered into deals with others to protect their own special interests. In this kind of democracy the general interest is forgotten. He therefore suggests taking decision-making out the hands of the state and putting it in the hands of the market. Central to the argument that Hayek and Friedman make is their view on property. Both see property as a basic right -- like life, liberty and the protection and guarantee of individual freedom:

> What our generation has forgotten is that the system of private property is the most important guarantee of freedom, not only for those who own property, but scarcely less for those who do not. It is only because the control of the means of production is divided among people acting independently that nobody has complete power over us, that we as individuals can decide what to do ourselves. (Hayek, 1944, p. 78)

Friedman (1962) suggests that, like life and liberty, economic rights must be enshrined in the constitution of the United States of America. The society proposed in libertarian writing takes us back to the starting of liberal democracy; a society in which individuals, equal in rights but unequal in everything else, choose to enter civil society and engage in contractual relations with their fellows.

The ethical dimensions of developmental democracy, social democracy, and participatory democracy are ignored in this model. It appears as if the new libertarians have drawn on everything that is "cruel" in the liberal tradition and ignored all that is "humane" (Brugger, 1983). I believe that the new libertarians are making inroads into the gains won by the social democrats of the mid-twentieth century and are undermining democracy.

The movement towards participatory democracy today is an important next step for countries in the Western world with a welfare system which has given people economic independence. Genuine democracy requires people's active participation in civil society. However, for class-divided societies, political democracy without economic democracy is a farce. In class-divided societies, rule by the privileged classes means that the state's coercive and persuasive apparatuses are in the hands of elites, inspiring fear and preventing the active participation by those in the lower socioeconomic class.

Marxist Tradition

Karl Marx (1818-1883) could be termed a democrat, but he argued that democracy was distorted under capitalism (ownership of private property) because capitalist society is a class-divided society dominated by the bourgeoisie. Real democracy, therefore, could only be attained after capitalism had been eliminated and communism instituted.

Marx argued that human consciousness and social structure were determined by people's material conditions; more specifically the way human beings produced, distributed, and consumed things:

> Legal relations as well as forms of the state are to be grasped neither

> from themselves nor from the so-called general development of the human mind, but rather have their roots in the material conditions of life, the sum total of which Hegel...combines under the name "civil society," that, however, the anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy...In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite state of development of their material production forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of a society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which corresponds definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. (Marx, quoted in Tucker 1978, p. 4)

For Marx, therefore, the form of the State emerges from the relations of production and not from the general development of the human mind as Hegel had argued. Unlike Hegel, who conceived of the State as involving a just, ethical and harmonious relationship among elements of society, as eternal and as transcending society, Marx placed the State in its historical context and subjugated it to a materialist conception of history. It is not the State that shapes society, but society that shapes the State. Society, in turn, is shaped by the dominant mode of production and the relations of production inherent in that mode (Carnoy, 1984).

Marx, again, in contrast to Hegel, argued that the State, because it emerges from the relations in production, does not represent the common good, but is the reflection of the class structure inherent in production. Marx's analysis of the mode of production in capitalist society led him to reject the view of the State as representing the interest of the whole society. He came to see the state in class-divided societies as the vehicle of class domination. The state, Marx argued, is not above class struggles but deeply engaged in them, acting as the instrument of the dominant class. Marx, in the words of Miliband (1977) concluded that:

> There may be occasions and matters where the interest of all classes happen to coincide. But for the most part and in essence, these interests are fundamentally and irrevocably at odds, so that the state cannot possibly be their common trustee; the idea that it can is part of the ideological vein which a dominant class draws upon the reality of class rule, so as to legitimate that rule in its own eyes as well as in the eyes of the subordinate classes. (p. 66)

Thus, because the bourgeoisie has control over the working class in the capitalist production process, they extend their power to the State and to other institutions.

Marx thought that democracy without economic equality was distorted and, therefore, impossible in class-divided societies. He presented two ways of abolishing the classes and instituting "true" democracy/communism. One way was through the tactical use of the ballot box and the other way through revolution.

In Marx's theory, the State in capitalist society is the repressive arm of the bourgeoisie acting to repress the dominated classes and to reproduce the class relations of production. Marx (and Engels) therefore argued for the expansion of democracy to curb the power of the state. They recognized, however, that democratic forms were both an instrument and a danger for the bourgeoisie. Democracy was used by the bourgeoisie to create the illusion of mass participation and the masses could use it to seize power:

> One side consists of the dominant class "utilizing" the forms of democracy (elections, parliament) as a means of providing an illusion of mass participation in the State, while the economic power of the ruling class ensures reproduction of the relations between capital and labor in production. On the other side is the struggle to give the democratic forms a new social, or mass content by pushing them to the democratic extremes of popular control from below, including extending democratic forms from the political sphere to the whole society (Draper, 1977, quoted in Carnoy, 1984, p. 51)

Marx saw the possibility, but not the likelihood, of the working class coming to power through the use of the democratic process. He and Engels were convinced that the victory of the proletariat and the establishment of a classless society would come about by revolution. The revolution would not necessarily lead to communist society but initially to a "dictatorship of the proletariat." Marx felt that the dictatorship of the proletariat might be necessary to protect the revolution and should continue only as long as the capitalist class was capable of staging a comeback. Engels compared the dictatorship to the 1871 Paris Commune, implying full popular participation in the working of the dictatorship through universal suffrage as in the Paris Commune (Laski, 1967). With communism, not only the dictatorship of the proletariat but the state as it currently exists would wither away. "At that time, there is no need for a state because there is no need to

repress one group for the purposes of another; everyone is working together, they own the means of production together, and the political form of the state is a 'complete democracy'" (Lenin, 1965, quoted in Carnoy, 1984, p. 59)

It is important to note that Marx considered both parliamentary and non-parliamentary strategies to be potentially revolutionary and working classes could choose either depending on their own contexts. It must also be noted that the whole of Marxist theory rests on a view of human beings as potentially productive and cooperative.

The Marxist road to communal democracy has been criticized because none of the communist states or those professing commitment to communism moved from the socialist stage to real communism. Socialism has led to a reduction in the inequalities in wealth, but inequalities in power, posited only as a temporary requirement until the threat from the capitalist class was removed and the people could rule themselves, remains. The transition has not occurred anywhere, and Milovan Djilas speaks of the power of a "new class" (1957, quoted in Burbidge, 1991, p. 34) of privileged bureaucrats, the dislodging of whom may require another revolution to achieve a true democratic society.

Democracy in the Islamic Tradition

In Muslim countries, like Pakistan, where the aspirations for greater participation in making political and economic decisions are being expressed, Muslims have become disenchanted with the continued exploitation and lack of progress promised by capitalism, the moral bankruptcy of secularism, and the atheism of Marxism. As a result they are now turning to Islam. Broadly speaking, three trends may be discerned in the way Muslims respond to the sociopolitical realities confronting them: monasticism, fundamentalism and progressive Islam. Monastic Islam is concerned solely with the salvation of the soul. Monastic Islam is seemingly apolitical because it avoids conscious political engagement. The truth is that in many situations silence is itself a political option. Fundamentalist Islam exhibits a commitment to ritual practices and the letter of the text, enmity to all who reject their views, a denial of any virtue outside Islam, and most important for this study "a commitment to the establishment of an Islamic State in which the sovereignty of God, juxtaposed against popular sovereignty would be supreme"

(Esack, 1997, p. xi). "Undemocratic and illiberal, this type of Islam combines all the ingredients of obscurantism with thoughtless antimodernism" (Pasha and Samatar, 1996, p. 198). Progressive Islam has at its heart *tawhid*, the belief in the unity of God. It privileges the spiritual intent above textual rigidity (F. Rahman, 1982) and seeks to interpret Islam to effectively respond to changing conditions of society and to realize its ideals in the socioeconomic and political sphere (Esack, 1997). Both monastic and fundamentalist Islam appear limited, as they do not offer viable alternatives for Muslim societies in these modern/postmodern times. Progressive Islam, however, offers great possibilities. Unlike fundamentalist Islam it does not seek restoration of society to the Muhammadan era in Medina, but reconstruction of society based on the liberatory message of the *Qur'an*.

Monastics and fundamentalists approach the *Qur'an* in a selective and ahistorical way to arrive at pure solutions based on a mythical and pure Muhammadan period which they believe can be reconstructed today. For monastics through the transformation of personal lives and for fundamentalists through the state. The ahistorical and piecemeal interpretation of the *Qur'an* (F. Rahman, 1986) has led to many concepts that could have, perhaps, served democracy, but have also been interpreted to justify monarchical and dictatorial systems. In the political sphere, the revising and redefinition of crucial elements of the Islamic tradition has led to the conceptualization of "Islamic democracy," which could facilitate the realization of democracy in Muslim societies. The redefinition of these concepts requires that, in interpreting the *Qur'an* one keeps the historical context in mind and ensures its underlying unity.

Two basic principles, that of *tawhid* (absolute oneness of God) and *khilafah* (vicegerency), are essential to understanding Islamic polity. *Tawhid*, defined simply as "the conviction and witnessing that 'there is no God but God,'" is the core of the entire Islamic tradition. The consequence of this belief is that God's "will is the imperative and guide for all men's [sic] lives" (Ismail Raji al Faruqi, 1982, quoted in Esposito and Voll, 1996, p.23). Non-Muslims and conservative Muslims argue *tawhid* means sovereignty of God. Therefore, it is impossible to have Islamic democracy which means sovereignty of the people. Esack (1997) observes that *tawhid* is at the heart of a comprehensive

sociopolitical world view aimed at realizing the unity of God in human relations and socioeconomic systems. He quotes Ali Shari'ati a foremost advocate of *tawhid* as a worldview aimed at realizing the unity of God in sociopolitical relations and systems to affirm the view of *tawhid* as the basis for equality and to show its revolutionary nature:

> In our Islam, tawhid is a world view, living and meaningful, opposed to the avaricious tendency for hoarding and aims for eradicating the disease of money worship. It aims to efface the stigma of exploitation, consumerism, and aristocracy...Whenever the spirit of *tawhid* revives and its historical role is comprehended by a people, it embarks on its [uncompleted] mission for consciousness, justice, people's liberation and their development and growth. (Irfani, 1983, quoted in Esack, 1997, p. 91)

For progressive Muslim scholars *tawhid,* at the existential level, is a rejection of the dualistic conception of human nature as spiritual and secular. At the sociopolitical level, it provides a conceptual and theological foundation for an emphasis on equality within the political system since all people are equal before God, and it provides for revolution against injustice and arbitrary rule (Esack, 1997; Esposito and Voll, 1996).

A second concept that facilitates an understanding of democracy in Islam is that of *khilafah*. *Khalifah* (Caliph) was the title given to the leader of the Muslim community following the death of Prophet Muhammad, and the political system was called the *khilafah*. As a political system, the *khilafah* lasted for two dynasties: the Umayyads (661-750) and the Abbasides (750-1258). With the end of the Abbasides, the term came to imply monarchy, but the original religio-political connotation was again revived during the Ottoman Empire, which broke up after World War I.

A more important meaning of *khilafah* is that of vicegerent. According to Shari'ati (1980, quoted in Esack, 1997, p. 94), the Qur'an places humankind in a "world of *tawhid* where God, people and nature display a meaningful and purposeful harmony." Esack notes that the *Qur'an* says that God chose humankind for His vicegerency on the earth, and designated humankind as the earthly carrier of His responsibilities: 'Lo I am to create a vicegerent on the earth," God announced to the angels (2:30). By distinguishing humankind as His vicegerent God made us the carrier of 'a great trust' (33:72) and the

'recipients of enormous power' (4:32-33; 16:12-15) (ibid. p. 95). To interpret democracy in Islam, Mawdudi (1967) defined the concept of *khilafah* as

> the authority of the caliphate is bestowed on the entire group of people, the community as a whole, which is ready to fulfill conditions of representation after subscribing to principles of *Tawheed* ....Such a society carries the responsibility of the caliphate as a whole and each one of its individual[s] shares the Divine Caliphate. This is the point where democracy begins in Islam. Every person in an Islamic society enjoys the rights and powers of the caliphate of God and in this respect all individuals are equal. (pp. 43-44)

This notion of *khilafah* as the whole of humanity is affirmed in the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (1980), and is a foundation for the concepts of human responsibility and of opposition to systems of domination. These two concepts have led to Sunni and Shi'i scholars to develop distinct political theories described and conceived as democratic (Esposito and Voll, 1996).

Within this general framework, Islamic democracy is seen as affirming long-standing Islamic concepts such as *shura* (consultation), *ijma* (consensus) and *ijtihad* (creative, intellectual effort, applying Islamic jurisprudence to new problems). The belief that all humankind are vicegerents implies the necessity of consultation. Consultation has commonly been interpreted as similar to representative democracy with vicegerents delegating their authority to a ruler, and rulers asking for their opinion in the conduct of the state. Progressive Muslim thinkers understand *shura* not as "one person ask[ing] others for advice but, rather, *mutual* advice through mutual discussions on an equal footing" (F. Rahman, 1986, pp. 90-91).

Another key operational concept is that of *ijma*, or consensus, which is a formal validating concept in Islamic law. Accordingly, the final religious authority for interpreting Islam is the consensus or collective judgment of the people. While it has tended to be a conservative force in which consensus is seen as the end of interpretation, others see consensus as having "great possibilities of developing the Islamic law and adapting it to changing circumstances" (Hamidullah, 1970).

A third operational concept of great importance is *ijtihad*, or the exercise of informed, independent judgment. This is a key to the interpretation and implementation of God's will in any given time and place. A Pakistani Islamist leader Khurshid Ahmed presents this position clearly:

> God has revealed only broad principles and has endowed man with the freedom to apply them in every age in the way suited to the spirit and conditions of that age. It is through the Ijtihad that people of every age try to implement and apply divine guidance to the problems of their times. (1976, p. 43)

The great Muslim reformer, Muhammad Iqbal (the person credited with the idea of Pakistan), in his book *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* notes the relationship between *ijma*, *ijtihad* and democratization:

> The growth of the republican spirit, the formation of legislative assemblies in Muslim lands constitute a great step in advance. The transfer of power of Ijtihad from individual representatives of schools to a Muslim legislative assembly which, in view of the growth of opposing sects, is the only form Ijma can take in modern times, will secure contributions to legal discussion from laymen who happen to possess a keen insight into affairs . In this way alone can we stir into activity the dormant spirit of life in our legal system. (pp. 173-174)

The above concepts and specific aspects of social and political operation offer a way for developing an "authentic democracy in an Islamic framework." As seen from the above discussion, many of the concepts are not only political concepts but also offer ways for organizing economic and social life within an Islamic democracy. The *Qur'an* further indicates that, in organizing socioeconomic life in an Islamic society, one must make a preferential option for the marginalized, and institute justice even to the point of revolution against the oppressors.

The Qur'an makes a clear choice for the *mustad'afun* (the vulnerable and marginalized) against the *mustakbirun* (the arrogant and powerful) even though the former may not be Muslim (7:136-7; 28:5). This preferential option for the oppressed is reflected in the particularized identification of God himself with the oppressed (28:5); the lifestyle and methodology of all the Abrahamic prophets (11:89; 1:62; 12:23-30); and of

Muhammad (peace be upon him) whom his wife A'ishah , described as a "living reflection of the Qur'an" (Ibn Hanbal 1978, quoted in Esack, 1997, p. 100). It is also reflected in the Quranic denunciation of the powerful and the accumulation of wealth -- usurious transactions were prohibited with a warning of "war from God and His Prophet" against those who continued such practices (2:279). Creditors were exhorted to recover only their capital sums, "but if you dispense even of that then it would be more virtuous for you" (2:219); and the *Qur'an* called for the liberation of women and slaves. Furthermore, a number of verses link faith and religion with a humanism and a sense of socioeconomic justice. A denial of these is linked with a rejection of justice, compassion and sharing (107:1-3; 104; 22:45) (Esack, 1997, pp. 98-102). The above clearly indicates that read, from the side of the marginalized and oppressed, the spirit of the *Qur'an* comes to life and holds out the promise of socioeconomic equality and democracy.

Justice is expected to be the basis of the socioeconomic life in an Islamic society. The *Qur'an* indicates areas where injustice may occur as in the trust of orphans and adopted children (4:3; 33:5), matrimonial relations (4:3; 49:9), contractual dealings (2:282), judicial matters (5:42; 4:56), interfaith relations (60:8), business (11:65), and dealings with one's opponents (5:8). The *Qur'an* repeatedly contrasts justice with oppression and transgression (3:25; 6:160; 10:47; 16:111) and obliges the faithful to destroy the latter and establish the former. Justice is so important that the *Qur'an* states: "Indeed we have sent Our Apostles with clear proof; And through them we have bestowed revelation and the balance so that humankind may behave with *qist* (justice, equity); And we have provided you with iron, in which there is awesome power as well as (other) benefits for humankind" (57:25). The *Qur'an* calls on its followers to heed the Apostle's message to struggle for justice, and legitimizes even the use of iron with "its awesome power" to achieve it.

Scholars, like Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, believe that justice is the raison d'être for the establishment of religion: "God has sent his Messengers and revealed His Books so that people may establish *qist* upon which the heavens and the earth stand. And when the signs of justice appear in any manner, then that is a reflection of the *Shari'ah* and the religion of God" (1953, quoted in Esack, 1997, p. 104).

The reappropriation of the word *jihad* is important for Muslims to transform themselves and create a truly democratic society. *Jihad* is popularly used for a sacred armed struggle or war, but jihad literally means "to struggle," "to exert oneself," or "to spend energy or wealth" (Ibn Manzur quoted in Esack, 1997, p. 106). In the *Qur'an*, the word is used to mean warfare (4:90; 25:52; 9:41), contemplative spiritual struggle (22:78;29:6), and even exhortion (29:8; 31:15). The comprehensive use of the term *jihad* in the *Qur'an* indicates that one is to struggle, to expend energy or wealth to transform oneself (live a virtuous life) and society (rid it of injustice) by preaching, teaching, and, where necessary, armed struggle to realize the will of *Allah*.

According to progressive Muslims, the *Qur'an*, in indicating the way socioeconomic life must be organized in an Islamic society, clearly indicates how the political concepts discussed earlier are to be interpreted and the potential for establishing Islamic democracy. The desire to establish an authentic Islamic democracy is not an attempt to be anti-western, but a critique of the western system which is seen as secular and immoral. Muhammad Iqbal presented a very strong critique of western democracy:

> Iqbal was undoubtedly a democrat...yet he bitterly denounced Western democratic systems. Now, the essence of his criticism is that Western democratic societies aim only at accomplishing materialistic ends....Iqbal rejected Western democratic systems because of their lack of ethical and spiritual concerns. It is not their democratic forms and processes which are in error but their orientations and value systems. (F. Rahman, 1986, p. 94)

TRADITIONS OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

In discussing the democratic tradition I noted that, prior to the nineteenth century, an "aristocratic theory of the state," that is "one that assumes that there is a small group of people that, by reason of birth or training, is especially fit for the business of rule" (Resnick, 1990, p. 14) was dominant. Resnick argues that the aristocratic view -- meritocratic rather than hereditary in character -- is evident in modern political philosophy in "elitist theory" which

> can range from a fairly conservative notion of those groups who ought, by reason of background or training, to fill important positions in the state (Mosca), to

> revisionist liberal interpretations that look to the masses in modern states to choose, in periodic elections, between competing political elites to rule over them (Schumpeter), to radical versions as in fascism, that look to charismatic individuals or self-selected groups to provide the impulse and direction ostensibly lacking in Western societies in their periods of alleged decline. (1990, p. 16)

Also evident in Leninist theory is the call for "a small group of politically trained cadre, steeped in Marxism and revolutionary theory...to bring revolutionary ideas to the working class and prepare the overthrow of a reactionary regime" (ibid., p. 16). Political concepts in the *Qur'an* have also been interpreted to serve monarchical and dictatorial systems.

Resnick (1990) argues that aristocratic practices are observable in most democratic countries where the legislature, executive, and judiciary are separated from each other and where people's participation is limited to electing members of the legislature. Aristocratic practices are also observable in socialist countries where the vanguard of the party rules and in Islamic countries where "clerical-lay alliance" (Iran) rules and people's participation is negligible.

The aristocratic view in these theories and practices are reflected in a form of citizenship education, commonly known as "citizenship transmission" (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977) or "socialization" (Engle and Ochoa, 1988) or "cultural transmission" (Janzen, 1995; Martorella, 1996), which research shows is the dominant method of teaching in social studies classrooms (Cuban, 1991; Fouts and Chan, 1996; Janzen, 1992; Leming, 1994; Marker and Mehlinger, 1992; White, 1997).

The Aristocratic Conception of Citizenship Education: Citizenship Transmission

The most important duty of a citizen, for those who hold the aristocratic view of the state, is to vote for appropriate representatives during elections. Citizens must also be loyal to the state and its institutions, share common cultural values, obey the law, and fulfill their duties (vote, pay taxes). This conception of citizenship views ordinary citizens as limited in their capacity to make judgments about complex public issues and problems, which are best left to political elites especially trained for the task. Citizenship in this view consists of being informed about public issues and problems and voting for

representatives best able to address them. This conception of citizenship requires citizens to be knowledgeable about mainstream versions of national history, the structure and function of public institutions and the rights and duties of citizens.

The knowledge in this conception of citizenship education is drawn from history, geography and civics. While history classes in Canada teach students, for example, to revere "saintly heroes and fervent Christians who built their heritage" (Hodgetts, 1968, p. 32), in Pakistan they emphasize the study of the life and times of Prophet Muhammad and the righteous caliphs, and "ritualistic Islam" (Hoodbhoy and Nayyar, 1985). Students in Pakistani classrooms also learn "to follow the government in office," "hate India," and "support military rule" (Aziz, 1992; T. Rahman, 1999). Geography is limited to the study of names and places, and civics to the study of the structure and function of public institutions and the rights and duties of citizens. This knowledge comes largely from textbooks that cover topics and events superficially (Anyon, 1978, 1979; Aziz, 1992). In addition, the knowledge is often outdated, inaccurate and biased (Aziz, 1992; Hoodbhoy and Nayyar, 1985; Ramonowiski, 1996; Sears, 1996b). A most important function of history and social studies texts in most countries is to promote patriotism and nationalism (Aziz, 1992; Heater, 1990; Kazi, 1991; T. Rahman, 1999; Smith, 1995). They also "serve a socializing and moralizing purpose" and "are incorrigibly hierarchic and deferential in their sympathies" the purpose of which is for students to "accept unquestionably the impressions and worldview created by the language of textbooks" and the maintenance of the status quo (Aziz, 1992; Conley, 1989; Hoodbhoy and Nayyar, 1985; Ramonowiski, 1996).

Research in social studies classrooms indicate that not much has changed over the century. History classrooms in 1907 and 1911 show teachers averaged 64 percent of classroom discourse, with students taking a back seat in all observed exchanges (Stevens, 1912, quoted in Cuban, 1991) and history lessons were oriented towards memorization of facts. More recent research indicates that instruction in history and social studies classrooms tends to be teacher-centered with texts used every week and lectures almost everyday. Teaching was dominated by textbook assignments, recitation lessons and an avoidance of controversial issues (Fouts and Chan, 1996; Goodlad, 1983; Marker and

Mehlinger, 1992; Shaver, Davis, and Helburn, 1978; White, 1997). The use of recitation and lectures demonstrates that teaching usually occurs through transmission of knowledge from teacher to student. Osborne (1991) explains how this works in classrooms:

> The traditional view of teaching sees it as the transmission of knowledge and skills, a one way sending of a message from expert to novice in which the receiver's job is to take in the message as accurately as possible, without distortion or alteration. (p. 26)

A number of social studies theorists (Apple, 1990; Banks, 1995; Sears ,1996b) argue that, along with the transmission of knowledge, teachers transmit a "message" of what the knowledge means and what the skills are to be used for. Apple (1990) examined these messages and argued that they taught students to passively accept what they were taught as true and to conform to the existing society. Anyon (1981) has demonstrated that different knowledge is transmitted to students from different socioeconomic backgrounds in social studies classrooms and Grant (1984, quoted in Hursh, 1997, p. 114), that it differs according to gender and race.

The citizenship transmission model is an elitist model in several ways. First, it excludes the experience of many groups, women, the working class, cultural minorities from the curriculum and the textbooks (Banks, 1995; Bernard-Powers, 1997; Kazi, 1991; Noddings, 1997; Osborne,1991; T. Rahman, 1999; Tomkins, 1986). Second, different knowledge is provided to different groups of students, thus preventing disadvantaged groups from receiving citizenship education of equal quality (Anyon, 1981; Apple, 1990; Hursh, 1997; Kozol, 1991; Osborne, 1991; Yeo and Kanpol; 1999). Third, most students are taught to passively accept what they are taught as true, to obey and show deference to authority, to conform and follow directions (Apple, 1990; Cuban, 1993; Hodgetts, 1968; Osborne, 1991; Ramonowiski, 1996; Sears and Parsons, 1991). Only a select, allegedly academic few are encouraged to think for themselves (Osborne, 1991; Kozol, 1991). Citizenship education, as described above, has the potential to alienate these groups from participation in the public sphere (Sears, 1996b).

Most important to this study is research that indicates that citizenship education that emphasized

> the use of printed drill in the class, the stress on factual aspects of the subject matter, and the engagement of the student in various patriotic rituals (such as flag raising ceremonies) have, if anything, a counter productive effect in civic education. (Torney, Oppenheim and Farnen, 1975, p. 19)

Torney, et.al. (1975) also found that a nationalistic orientation and the use of patriotic rituals resulted in students who have "a lower level of knowledge and less support for democratic values, but often higher interest in political participation" (p. 334). Such uncritical attachment to one's country, Pratte (1988) argues, "too often leads to narrow minded xenophobia" (p. 8) and he suggests educating for "a thinking loyalty, rather than an unthinking loyalty" to one's country.

To promote the development of citizens who will institute democracy (political and economic equality) an alternative form of citizenship education is required. There is evidence of the use of other methods in the social studies classrooms but they are used less frequently and are largely teacher-centered. Cuban (1991) provides evidence of research in elementary classrooms that indicate teachers do use interactive techniques and small group procedures but largely rely on the textbook and direct everything themselves. Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) also point out, that some teachers do use more "progressive" methods, such as "discovery learning." However, social studies scholars inform us that a liberal democratic conception of citizenship education is dominant in most curriculum documents (Banks, 1995; Masemann, 1989), has influenced the "research, teaching, and writing of social studies literature by scholars and university professors (Banks, 1995; Leming, 1992) but it had little influence on actual classroom practice (Leming, 1992; Shaver, Davis and Helburn, 1979).

The Liberal Democratic Conception of Citizenship Education: Teaching the Social Sciences and Reflective Inquiry

According to Resnick (1990) "Liberal theorists of the state emphasize the representative and limited character of state authority and the existence of a significant

sphere of individual liberty - political, economic and religious - for the citizens" (p.23). Referring to influential liberal thinkers (Locke, Burke, Madison, and Hamilton) Resnick argues that they believed that ordinary citizens would participate in social organizations but would leave governance of the state, in so far as it did not conflict with their individual rights, to elected representatives. Liberal democracy Resnick (1990) and Barber (1984; 1998a) argue emphasize citizenship as an individual and private matter rather than collaborative participation in matters of the state. As a result in most liberal democracies citizen participation has been reduced to protecting individual rights and voting for individuals who will govern in the interest of all. Voting is seen as a social responsibility which requires citizens to be well-informed about the issues, use their critical thinking skills to be able to sort out between true and false information and to make decisions in the interest of the society as a whole. Citizenship education must, therefore, prepare knowledgeable citizens who can bring this knowledge to bear in making decisions and resolving the problems that face them and the nation.

Knowledge, in this conception, comes from the study of concrete problems of importance to society and of interest to the students (Rugg, 1939; Hunt and Metcalf, 1955; Oliver and Shaver, 1966; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; M. Evans and Lavelle, 1996; R. W. Evans, 1997). The outcomes that will accrue to students are "dealing with change, complex problem solving and ethical decision making" (Drake, 1995, p. 28). The study of personally-felt and socially-shared problems requires an interdisciplinary approach as opposed to the study of separate disciplines (Drake, 1995; Beane, 1997; R. W. Evans, 1997). Engle and Ochoa (1988) argue that students involved in the study of social issues learn far more, even in the area of basic facts. While it is essential to study contemporary problems, Engle and Ochoa call for a study of history -- not just facts and events but analytically:

> Such history would need to go both wide and deep. It would need to expose the problems of interpretation and the problems of verification that confront the historian honestly...it would need to provide young citizens with the opportunity to think about the history of our democracy and to think about its problems in the light of that history. (1988, p. 137)

The approach to teaching in the liberal democratic conception is reflective inquiry which was first proposed by Dewey in 1933. This approach to teaching was taken up by Hunt and Metcalf (1955) who suggested that controversial topics could be used as beginning points for reflective thinking activities. Today, the strongest proponents of inquiry are Engle and Ochoa (1988); M. Evans and Lavelle, (1996); and R. W. Evans, (1997). The literature suggests two inquiry processes, one for testing truth claims, which closely parallels the scientific method, and one for decision-making around social issues/problems. The first is often called discovery and follows a structure of the discipline's design (Bruner, 1963). It focuses on the way professionals in the social science disciplines gather and verify knowledge as it is related to specific principles and propositions in the discipline. Discovery stresses conceptual development, process and problem-solving. Even though students are actively engaged in hands-on activities, discovery is a teacher-centered approach as the teacher poses the problem, often decides which method(s) will be followed and students are encouraged to move towards predetermined answers.

The second inquiry method focuses on the inquiry into social problems with the aim of preparing students to make decisions in the larger sociopolitical context. Reflective inquiry begins with the identification and definition of a problem. Students identify the value assumptions which will help in the identification of alternatives and in making decisions. Students then identify alternatives and predict the consequence of each alternative. They then decide on a course of action and justify their decisions (Engle and Ochoa, 1988). Unlike discovery, inquiry is not teacher-centered as problems chosen for study emanate from the interests and curiosity of the students. Students conduct the inquiry themselves with the teachers acting as facilitators. Outcomes are not known and because of different value assumptions different decisions may be arrived at. It is a generative process as it leads to the construction of new understandings and knowledge. Inquiry is a more suitable process for the preparation of citizens in a democracy who often have to make decisions in the absence of independent ground (Barber, 1984).

This conception of citizenship education addresses many criticisms raised about the "traditional" citizenship transmission conception. Advocates argue that an issues-

centered curriculum can bring the views as well as issues affecting groups that were previously excluded from the curriculum into the classroom (Engle and Ochoa, 1988). Both models, discovery and inquiry, call for students' active participation, but students have a decision-making role and generate new knowledge in the social inquiry mode which is more suitable for the kind of participation required in liberal democracy (Engle and Ochoa, 1988; M. Evans and Lavelle, 1996). This approach is interdisciplinary as knowledge from a number of disciplines is brought to bear on an issue as well as teachers' and students' own experiences (Engle and Ochoa, 1988, R. W. Evans, 1997).

The liberal democratic conception of citizenship education has been quite influential in the discourse on social studies education, but it has generally failed to gain acceptance in schools (Leming, 1989; R. W. Evans, 1997, Sears, 1996b). There are many reasons for this lack of implementation. First, education officials have not been receptive to a model of citizenship education that encourages reform of society and social institutions. Brady (1993) observes that governments do not wants public institutions that may challenge or openly oppose it and van Manen and Parsons (1983) point out, "what social power (province or country) would support a curriculum whose stated goal was reconstruction" (p. 6). Second, the failure of social studies theorists and teachers to come to an agreement about what the vision of a good society is and to work together towards it is another reason for non-implementation (Leming, 1989). Third, many social problems facing society are controversial. Teachers and schools prefer to avoid such issues, fearing a backlash from parents or interest groups. Fourth, the difficulty, to date, of defining the precise nature of issues-centered education (M. Evans and Lavelle, 1996; Leming, 1989). Fifth, the split between the intellectual realization of ideals and the assumed pragmatic demands of survival in the classroom (Brady, 1993). Sixth, the structure and organization of schools themselves that tend to reinforce the norms of hierarchical control and undermine curricula and instructional reform (M. Evans and Lavelle, 1996; R.W. Evans, 1997).

The Marxist Conception of Citizenship Education: Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is a form of citizenship education derived from Marxist theory. It goes beyond classical Marxism drawing from other sources such as critical theory, the sociology of knowledge, feminist theory, and cultural studies. This is an important educational discourse at the university, but has not found its way into the social studies curriculum or classrooms (Osborne, 1991; Sears, 1996b) except in a few cases (Smith, 1995; Chilcoat and Ligon, 1998). Many writers attribute the failure to implement critical pedagogy to the fact that while critical theorists provide an "exciting vision of more democratic schooling and society" they have failed to provide teachers with examples of "transformative pedagogies" (Ellsworth, 1989; Gore, 1993; Osborne, 1991; Wardekker and Miedema, 1997). Critical theorists have also provided educators with insightful theoretical and political analysis of schooling that allows them to challenge what Foucault (1990) calls "regimes of truth" or taken-for-granted ways of understanding, speaking and acting. However, this "language of critique" while important, has failed to provide educators with a "language of possibility" (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993; Giroux and McLaren, 1992; Simon, 1992), a language that would provide teachers and students with hope and courage to transform their lives, the teaching and learning in classroom, and the organization of schools and society. Another reason for non-implementation often mentioned in the literature is the unnecessarily obscure language used in writing on critical pedagogy which hinders it from being accessible to those for whom it might be most useful (Gibson, 1986; Osborne, 1991).

Citizens in the critical pedagogy conception are seen as active participants in the affairs of their immediate community, their nation and the world with the intention of transforming the larger social context in the interest of a more just and equitable order. All citizens must participate actively in discussing social, economic and political issues (Smith, 1995; Chilcoat and Ligon, 1998), make decisions about them and work cooperatively to address them so as to promote the common good (Chilcoat and Ligon, 1998). Citizens must be knowledgeable about the structures and processes that privilege some groups at the expense of others and must work to change them (Apple, 1999; Giroux and Penna, 1988; Banks, 1995; Osborne, 1991) .

Citizenship education must begin with an analysis of society to see how it can be made into a genuine democratic society, one that is responsive to the needs of all -- not just a privileged few (Chilcoat and Ligon, 1998; Giroux and McLaren, 1992; Osborne, 1991; Smith, 1995). This analysis will provide the answers to the kinds of knowledge, values and social relationships that are to become part of our educational practice. History is important. Students should learn how society has come to be the way it is and to realize that society is not given and therefore they can take actions to change it (Smith, 1995; Giroux and McLaren, 1992). Knowledge is derived from students' culture and experience, therefore student experience and culture must become part of the curriculum. But teachers must go beyond to introduce students to the wider world of knowledge and ideas. Teachers must also recognize that students' experience might contain unacceptable values (classist, racist, sexist). They must, therefore, use students' experience to have them engage in thoughtful reflection and connect this educational activity with action for social change (Banks, 1995; Bartholome, 1994; Giroux and McLaren, 1992; Osborne, 1991; Shor and Freire, 1987). The aim of teaching is not "to fit" students into existing society but to

> stimulate their passions, imaginations, and intellects so that they will be moved to challenge the social, political, and economic forces that weigh so heavily upon their lives. In other words, students should be educated to display civic courage, i.e., the willingness to act *as if* they were living in a democratic society. (Giroux, 1983, p. 201)

To achieve this aim, critical pedagogy insists on democratic classrooms -- classroom in which there is a more equal relationship between teachers and students. Students must be involved in selecting what they are to learn and in deciding how they are going to learn (Apple and Beane, 1995; Chilcoat and Ligon, 1998; Sehr, 1997; Volk, 1998). Classroom interactions must serve to empower students to understand their world and to take action for social change. In Freire's words, they must learn to read the word and the world. This means students must critically reflect on knowledge to see how it is linked to both history and existing sociopolitical conditions so that they become "both personally reflective and socially conscious" (Osborne, 1991, p. 54). Self-empowerment must be linked to social

change. Therefore, classroom interactions must prepare students to take action as a class related to the area under study or in collaboration with groups working for social change outside the school.

Critical pedagogy has been influenced by the ideas of Paulo Freire. Freire's strategies of problem-posing and dialogue are often used. Problem-posing involves engaging students in the study of problems that the students themselves identify or recognize as important. Teachers must recognize that students may not be able to identify problems as they are part of a "culture of silence" or the problems they identify may be distorted by ideological constraints. Freire, therefore, stresses the importance of teachers and students working together so that "the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the teacher ceases to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with student-teachers" (Freire, 1970, p. 67). Another approach, borrowed from Freire, is dialogue. Dialogue for Freire is not competitive, but cooperative. It is not an interaction between one-who-knows and one-who-learns, but a process in which people collaborate as both knowers and learners, in which all contribute. It is an "act of creation", not of transmission or domination (Freire, 1970, p. 77). To engage in successful dialogue requires love, humility, and faith. Teachers must respect their students for who they are and what they can become. Humility will enable them to see themselves as learners and their students as teachers. And faith in the ability of each to grow and become fully human (Freire, 1970).

Because everyone is encouraged to work cooperatively towards the common good, cooperative learning is an important methodology in critical pedagogy. However, in critical pedagogy it is not simply a method of helping students to achieve high scores on tests but

> a framework for thinking about how power is allocated, how decisions are made, how multiple perspectives can be heard and validated. Cooperative learning can allow us to create participatory communities, classroom models of democracy, spaces for discourse and critical examination of the ways in which certain voices are silenced by ... our current models of teaching. (Sapon-Shevin, 1991, p. 12)

The Islamic Conceptions of Citizenship Education: Islamic Socialization and Liberatory Praxis

Two conceptions of citizenship education emerge from the Islamic tradition. The first, what I have called Islamic socialization, emerges from the present system of education provided in most *madrasahs* (religious schools) where the aim is to prepare students to restore the Islamic state as in the time of Prophet Muhammad in Medina and the righteous caliphs. The second, emerges from the writings of Islamic reformists and progressive Muslim scholars of the late nineteenth and twentieth century who sought to unite and strengthen Muslim communities through a reinterpretation of Islam and Islamic tradition in light of the sociopolitical realities of the contemporary world.

Islamic Socialization

Islamic socialization begins with the premise that the most important duty of a citizen is to be well-versed in knowledge of the *Qur'an* and *sunnah* and to know one's duties to Allah, to his people and to the state.

The curriculum of the *madrasah* consists of two branches: revealed knowledge and knowledge acquired through intellectual endeavor. Revealed knowledge is knowledge derived from the *Qur'an*, *hadith* (tradition, conveying a saying or action of Muhammad), *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), philosophy of religion and linguistic sciences. Knowledge acquired through intellectual endeavor is knowledge received from a study of the natural sciences, the social sciences and mathematics. There is a strong bias towards the study of revealed knowledge in the *madrasah* and a suspicion of science -- which is seen as being in opposition to Islam, as Islam is based on revelation and not empirical observation (M. S. Khan, 1986, p. 30). Anything inimical to the tenets of Islam is excluded from the curriculum (M. S. Khan, 1986; Nayyar, 1998). Since the attempt to merge the secular stream of education with the *madrasahs* in Pakistan in 1979, the textbooks prescribed by the government for social studies are being used in some *madrasahs*, albeit in different proportions and emphasis. The exception being those *madrasahs* which prepare students for the matriculation examinations.

Education in the *madrasah* consists of the study of a number of textbooks. "[E]mphasis [is] on factual information and memorization and neglect[s] understanding" (M. S. Khan, 1986, p. 29). "Students are given quarterly, biannual, and annual examinations, passing of which form the criterion for promotion to the next grade" (Nayyar, 1998, p. 229). M. S. Khan states that "corporal punishment was considered a rule rather than the exception the madrasah. The rod was regarded as a valuable auxiliary of the teacher's art....But to protect the children from undue [punishment]...It was laid down that punishment should be limited between three and ten light strokes" (p. 25).

Recognizing that the *madrasahs* are not preparing citizens to play the role called for in today's society, a seminar was held in Islamabad in 1986 to discuss the need for changes in the curricula of the *madrasah*. Professor Khurshid Ahmed head of the Jama't-i-Islami in his opening remarks said:

> It is a fact that the leadership which is emerging in all the spheres of life today, and the way and with the mental attitudes the national policies are being formulated, the religious education has little or an insignificant impact on it...It is a fact that [the effect of] the curriculum of our religious schools is quite different from what it was during the Muslim rule; at that time the system of education accorded well with the civic and governmental requirements of the time, and was producing results that the religious system of education is not giving. (Ahmed, quoted in Nayyar, 1998, p. 236)

However, Nayyar notes that his "guarded criticism of the *madrasah* curriculum was vehemently contested by other speakers" (p. 237) who feared change would lead to difficulty in finding people who could correctly read the *Qur'an* or lead the prayers and to arguing that it was not the curriculum that was the problem but the lack of conscientious teachers and students (Nayyar, 1998).

It is the kind of thinking expressed above and the failure to use *ijtihad* that Iqbal (1968) argues is the cause of the immobility of Islam in the last five hundred years. He blames the *ulema* (religious scholars) for closing the door to *ijtihad* and for stopping the dynamic process of reinterpretation of Islamic teachings and principles to new situations.

Liberatory Praxis

In my effort to conceptualize citizenship education as liberatory praxis I have drawn on the writings of the Islamic reformists and progressive Muslim scholars of the late nineteenth and twentieth century. The ideas given below are only illustrative of what citizenship education as liberatory praxis might include. Citizenship education conceived of as liberatory praxis calls for active participation by all citizens in self-government because sovereignty resides in the people. Because citizens have to govern themselves, they must be well-informed about the issues of society use *ijtihad* to understand the issues and participate in discussions to make decisions in the interest of the common good. Citizens must work together to create a society based upon freedom, equality and brotherhood/sisterhood.

Knowledge in this conception comes from studying the *Qur'an* and *sunnah* itself "rather than from post Muhammadan legal or theological tradition" so that interpretations are "free from legal or 'orthodox' meanings which tradition has accorded them" (Esack, 1997, p. 84). Another source of knowledge must be the culture and experience of the students themselves. Students must study the problems and issues in society bringing the knowledge of all the disciplines, their knowledge of the context and knowledge from the *Qur'an* and *sunnah* to bear on it. Students must study history critically so they can respond to the demands of today's world. As Iqbal stressed "a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection constitute no remedy for a people's decay" (Iqbal, 1968, p. 151).

Liberatory praxis requires that teaching practices be democratic and take place in democratic classrooms. A number of teaching practices are implied by this conception. The first is critical inquiry of social issues and problems. Students should study significant social issues going through a process in which they become informed about the issue and take action based on the information. Students must collect information on the issue from the sources mentioned above, engage in a historical inquiry to see why it is an issue, subject the information to *ijtihad,* discuss the information with each other and find ways of addressing it. The ways of addressing the issues and the actions taken to address them must be liberating.

The teaching practice of discussion is implied in the Islamic concept of *shura*. *Shura* means mutual discussion on an equal footing. Students must engage in open discussion in preparation for their role as citizens. This understanding of *shura* challenges the traditional authority of the teacher in the classroom and calls for a more equal relationship between teacher and student.

Great stress is laid on cooperation and working for the common good. Classroom practices based on individualism and competition must be replaced by cooperation. A cooperative classroom environment must be created, in which students learn and work together so that all may realize their potential.

Citizenship Education in Schools in Pakistan

There are two streams of education in Pakistan: the secular stream and the *madrasahs*. The *madrasahs* were first established in India in the thirteenth century and were the only formal system of education, educating religious leaders and people for state employment. When the British colonized India in the eighteenth century they established an education system to educate Indians for clerical positions in the civil service. The secular stream is a legacy of the colonial tradition. Citizenship education in social studies classrooms in the secular stream follows the citizenship transmission model. Citizenship education in the *madrasahs* follows the Islamic socialization model described above. While content knowledge in both streams is different, teaching and learning practices are similar because the colonial system reinforced educational ideas and practices similar to the education imparted in the *madrasahs*. For example, the majority of Muslim scholars define the *Qur'an* as "The inimitable revelation, the Speech of God revealed to the Prophet Muhammad through the Angel Gabriel [existing today] literally and orally in the exact working of the purest Arabic" (Ibn Manzur, quoted in Esack, 1997, p. 53). The belief of Muslims in the unchanging nature and universalism of the *Qur'an* facilitated the acceptance of the universalism and "truth value" of the ideas contained in other texts. M. S. Khan (1986) observes that in the early days of Islam learning centered around teachers rather than schools. Outstanding teachers who learnt the tradition attracted students from near and far who sought knowledge from them. The teacher played an active role while

the student passively listened to the teacher. Lyman (1996) suggests that the prestige accorded the Great Books in liberal education and the resultant importance of the author and passivity of the reader may be responsible for the prevalence of passive education conducted by books and lectures in classrooms. The importance of the teacher and of books in both traditions reinforced the authority of the teacher and the passivity of the students. The emphasis on conformity and acceptance rather than critical thinking and inquiry in the *madrasahs* facilitated the institutionalization of colonial teaching practices which also encouraged students to passively accept rather than critically think about what they were learning.

Knowledge in both traditions is seen as consisting of objective facts and education as developing mastery of facts. The predominant method of teaching is transmission of knowledge and learning memorization of knowledge. Warwick and Reimers (1995) in their study of classrooms in Pakistan showed that teachers usually lectured to students who passively listened to the teacher and the assignments in which students were involved were generally reading the textbook or answering end-of-the-chapter questions. Since knowledge consists of facts and facts can be subjected to empirical verification, standardized tests have been developed to measure knowledge and determine effectiveness of teaching and learning.

The citizens produced through this system of education are passive. They lack the ability to critically analyze their society, find creative solutions to the issues and concerns facing their society and to act with courage to make their society more democratic. If the education system in Pakistan is to prepare citizens who will actively and responsibly participate in creating a democratic society than it will have to move from citizenship education as socialization into the existing society to citizenship education as liberatory praxis.

As can be seen from this review, the concept of democracy from the Greeks to the present times has theoretically been conceived in different ways. Different conceptions of democracy have given rise to different conceptions of citizenship education. Resnick (1990) argues that aristocratic practices (hereditary, meritocratic, theocratic) are observable in most democratic countries and I have argued that they are evident in

socialist and Islamic countries. The review indicates that the aristocratic view in these theories and practices are reflected in a form of citizenship education commonly known as citizenship transmission in most social studies classrooms. Liberal and liberatory theories are common in the university but these have generally not found their way into social studies classrooms.

This study sought to understand why citizenship transmission predominates in Pakistani classrooms and how the conception of citizenship education as liberatory praxis can become the practice in social studies classrooms in Pakistan. It is hoped that by researching into why social studies education has come to be the way it is and exploring alternative understandings and practices we will come to a deeper understanding of how to educate for democratic citizenship in social studies classrooms in Pakistan.

Chapter three

THE RESEARCH ORIENTATION

In the previous chapter I presented the historical development of different discourses on democracy and the corresponding conception(s) of citizenship education. I have noted that, while liberal democracy is the predominant political system in the world, citizenship transmission has remained the predominant conception of citizenship education. I have also demonstrated that piecemeal interpretations of the *Qur'an* have generally served political systems of monarchy (hereditary) or dictatorship (state). Challenges to the monarchical and dictatorial political systems in Muslim countries have come from two sources: fundamentalist Islam and progressive Islam, both of which find Islam incompatible with materialistic ends of liberal democracy and the atheistic stance of Marxist communism positing religio-sociopolitical ends. Fundamentalist Islam seeks to realize these ends by the establishment of an Islamic state wherein the sovereignty of God would be supreme and enforcing the *Shari'ah* (literally path, religious law of Islam) as fundamentalists understand it so as to restore the Islamic society of the Muhammadan era. Progressive Islam borrows tools for analyzing the world of the oppressed from Marxist theory, but derives its inspiration from the liberatory message of the *Qur'an* and the struggles of all the prophets to create the kingdom of God on earth. Fundamentalism characterizes the citizen as obedient to the will of Allah as fundamentalists understand it thus transmission of knowledge is called for. To realize the liberatory message of the *Qur'an* means to adopt teaching and learning practices designed to create the material conditions for a more equal and just society.

A study concerned with the quest for the possibilities of educating for democratic citizenship through the teaching of social studies requires that one first obtain an understanding of the context within which citizenship is being considered. As a study concerned with understanding, it was inherently a hermeneutic study. Hermeneutics performs a philosophical task and provides a research methodology in this study. Because hermeneutics is concerned with understanding human situations hermeneutic insights will be relevant to understanding how teaching and learning social studies has

come to be the way it is and through critical reflection the actions needed to create alternatives. The methodological task relates to the way of arriving at knowledge from experience. Therefore, the philosophical hermeneutics of Hans-Georg Gadamer (1989) and the critical hermeneutics of Jurgen Habermas (1972) inform the theoretical grounding within which the research question is addressed.

NEED FOR AN ACTION ORIENTED CRITICAL UNDERSTANDING

Hermeneutic Inquiry

Hermeneutics is the study of understanding and how it is revealed through interpretation. Hermeneutics was originally concerned with the interpretation of texts in the fields of theology, philology and law but present day hermeneutics extends beyond texts to oral speech and human action. Modern hermeneutics emerged as a response to the application of empiricism employed in understanding the natural world to the study of the human or "cultural" sciences. Modern hermeneutics drew together the science and art of interpretation into a general theory of knowledge known as the *Giesteswissenschaften* which provided both the methodology and conditions for valid knowledge unique to the human sciences.

The first individual to attempt to develop a framework for the conditions of knowledge unique to the human sciences was Schleiermacher. Schleiermacher sought to integrate the "regional hermeneutics" of philology and theology into a "general hermeneutics" so as to arrive at a method for valid interpretation. To address the question of explanation and understanding he made a distinction between the grammatical and psychological aspects of text interpretation. Grammatical interpretation was concerned with the objective features of language, while psychological interpretation was concerned with the inner thoughts of the author. The problem with Schleiermacher's hermeneutics is the problem of objectivity and subjectivity. Objectively there was the problem of how to distinguish the author's individuality from common language and subjectively there was the problem of mediation between an emphatic understanding of the author and appreciating the individual differences between subjectivities. Ricoeur (1981) explains

that at the practical level grammatical and psychological interpretation cannot be carried out as one excludes the other:

> ...not only does one form exclude the other, but each demands distinct talents, as their respective excesses reveal: an excess of the first (grammatical) gives rise to pedantry, an excess of the second (psychological) to nebulosity (p.47).

Gadamer gives interpretation a more ontological grounding. He does not see the task of hermeneutics as specifying a distinctive method but as explicating a "distinctive type of knowledge and truth that is realized whenever we authentically understand" (Bernstein, 1986, p. 89). Central to understanding for Gadamer is the notion of prejudice which is our history, tradition or forestructure. Gadamer argues that our understanding will be prejudiced because of our tradition but that our tradition makes understanding possible as well. "They are simply the conditions whereby what we encounter says something to us" (Gadamer, 1984, p. 235).

According to Gadamer (1989) arriving at understanding is conditioned by the horizon of the reader and the horizon of the text which determine the limits within which the text, oral speech or human action can be interpreted. For example, every person engaging in interpretation comes with a history -- personal, educational and societal background, linguistic ability, familiarity with the subject matter, questions and expectations. The text, speech or action itself is conditioned by time, culture, and the intentions of the person who produced it. Arriving at understanding is much more than understanding the meaning present in texts, speech or action alone. It also transcends attempts to find out what the author or interpreter had in mind. Arriving at understanding is a mediation of all.

Understanding occurs within language. Language is central to hermeneutics and to our understanding the world because it is through it that the subject matter of the text is disclosed. Palmer summarizes this hermeneutical principle well:

> Language shapes man's [sic] seeing and his thought -- both his conception of himself and his world (the two are not separate as they may seem). His very vision of reality is shaped by language. Far more than man [sic] realizes, he channels through language the various facets of his living - his worshipping,

> loving, social behavior, abstract thought; even the shape of his feelings is conformed to language. (1969, p. 9)

Language as being, and the mediation between text and interpreter come together in conversation. Gadamer uses the example of conversation to illustrate the hermeneutic experience. Like the reader reading a text, the participants in the conversation do not place themselves within the subjectivity of the other but both direct themselves to the topic of the conversation. Conversation suggests both philosophical and methodological aspects of Gadamer's hermeneutics (Carson, 1984). Gadamer, however, does not see conversation as a method but uses conversation to illustrate how understanding occurs.

Habermas' critique of Gadamer revolves around questions of language, scientific knowledge, tradition and economic and political domination. Habermas questions Gadamer's claim of universality by pointing out that the technical language of science is monological, while the everyday language of communication is dialogical. He, therefore, questions the possibility of bridging the gap between the two. Habermas challenges universalization in another way, arguing that language is always constrained by social and economic structures of domination, and interpretation of meaning must include an understanding of the social and political factors of domination. Therefore, in place of a trusting hermeneutics, Habermas proposes a "depth hermeneutics," or a hermeneutics of suspicion. Habermas suggests that participants in conversation by using critical reflective interpretation can uncover distortions and arrive at truth. In *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1972) he explains how Freudian psychoanalysis might be applied to bring these distortions to the attention of participants.

The writings of Paul Ricoeur seem to indicate the possibility for dialogue between epistemology and ontology and thus re-addresses the question of validity. His writings also provide a link between Gadamer's hermeneutics and Habermas' critical hermeneutics. Ricoeur disagrees with the dichotomy between explanation and understanding and suggests both are necessary for the "appropriation" of a text. Ricoeur explains that "appropriation means to make one's own what was initially alien, so that interpretation brings together, equalizes and renders contemporary and similar" (Ricoeur, 1981, p. 185).

Appropriation is not about seeking the intentions of the author but an increase in self-understanding through the actualization of the meaning of the text.

Of particular interest to this study is the way in which Ricoeur mediates the problem of tradition and criticism in the Gadamer-Habermas debate in which Gadamer holds that understanding is linked to tradition and Habermas argues that tradition should be subjected to critical reflection for authentic understanding. Ricoeur observes that a closer study of their works reveal that both have the same ethical goal, that is, to stop the domination of technical reason and to defend practical reason. Both Habermas and Gadamer believe the essence of being human is to be dialogical and it is this dialogical character of being that is threatened by technological society. Riceour's dialetic which projects critical distance as a precondition for understanding reflects Habermas's critical approach to the recovery of dialogue. But he holds that critical interest itself can only originate in the tradition in which it is situated. Ricoeur (1973) shows how both tradition and criticism are essential to understanding:

> First, that a hermeneutic of tradition can only fulfill its program if it introduces a critical distance, conceived and practiced as an integral part of the hermeneutic process. And, secondly, and on the other hand, that a critique of ideologies too can only fulfill its project if it incorporates a certain regeneration of the past, consequently, a reinterpretation of tradition. (pp. 159-160)

Forms of Hermeneutics

In *Education and Hermeneutics* Shaun Gallagher posits four kinds of hermeneutics, each of which takes a different stance towards the question of interpretation. These forms of hermeneutics are: conservative, moderate, radical and critical.

Conservative Hermeneutics

Gallagher classified the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher and Wilhelm Dilthey as conservative hermeneutics because, for them, hermeneutics is guided by the romantic desire to understand the original intention of the author and to objectively transcend the

limits of history. It is assumed that truth will be arrived at through the use of correct methodology.

Moderate Hermeneutics

Moderate hermeneutics describes the work of Gadamer and Ricoeur who reject the possibility of objective interpretation and suggest that we are conditioned by the prejudices of our historical tradition. This is reflected in Gadamer's rehabilitation of the notion of prejudice:

> Prejudices are not necessarily unjustified and erroneous, so that they erroneously distort the truth. In fact, the historicity of our existence entails that prejudices, in the literal sense of the word, constitute the initial directedness of our whole ability to experience. Prejudices are biases of our openness to the world. They are simply the conditions whereby what we encounter says something to us. (1984, p. 235)

Gadamer distinguishes between two kinds of prejudices. "Blind prejudices" limit our interpretive powers and prevent us from gaining absolute access to textual meaning. "Justified prejudices" facilitate interpretation and allow some access to textual meaning. Understanding, according to Gadamer, occurs in "a fusion of horizons" (1984, p. 273) in which a dialogic encounter between reader and text leads to an enlargement of our own horizon, to new meanings, and deeper self-understanding. As interpreters, however, we can never achieve complete or objective interpretation since we are limited by our historical traditions and, there is no finality in understanding. Moderate hermeneutics, unlike conservative hermeneutics, is dialogical in character. It involves creativity not just reproduction.

Radical Hermeneutics

Radical hermeneutics, is inspired by Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger and is reflected in Jacques Derrida's deconstructive approaches and in John Caputo's notion of original difficulty. In this view, interpretation is neither an application of method, as conservative hermeneutics claims, nor is constituted as dialogue as moderate

hermeneutics suggests. Radical hermeneutics, likes to deconstruct the meaning of the text, not to establish an authentic or even creative interpretation, but to challenge the concepts of unity, identity, or authorship which operate in and around the text, demonstrating that all versions of a text are contingent and relative.

Critical Hermeneutics

Critical hermeneutics is represented in the writings of Habermas and Karl-Otto Apel who have been inspired by Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud and theorists of the Frankfurt School. The aim of critical theory is individual and social emancipation from the systems of domination. Critical hermeneutics is employed to arrive at distortion-free communication and liberating consensus by uncovering the ideological and extralinguistic factors that distort communication. Following Marx and Freud, Habermas proposes a hermeneutics of suspicion, a distrustful hermeneutics aimed at arriving at "true" understanding. Like moderate hermeneutics, critical hermeneutics is hopeful that, through communication we can create something new, or even affect nonlinguistic, material emancipation.

Conservative hermeneutics with its romantic desire to reproduce the meaning and intention of the author, does not offer possibilities for new understandings. Radical hermeneutics which suggests the impossibility of truth, conversation and transformation does not offer the possibilities for change. For this reason moderate hermeneutics and critical hermeneutics will inform this study

Aporias of Hermeneutics

In his discussion of hermeneutics and education Gallagher (1992) raises the issue of the aporias of hermeneutics. His discussion is germane to this study because the very same issues raised in the aporias of hermeneutical theory -- reproduction, authority, and conversation; objectivity, distortion and transformation -- are raised in educational theory. Further, the approaches to hermeneutic theory -- conservative, moderate, critical and radical -- can be associated with respective citizenship education approaches. For example, Hirsch (1988) in his book, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to*

Know has argued that the aim of citizenship education should be the reproduction of traditional values and beliefs which reflects the principles of conservative hermeneutics. The aporias of authority, distortion, transformation are also obvious in the conduct of conversation. Gallagher (1992) argues that each aporia can best be seen in the debates that have occurred between the moderate hermeneutics of Gadamer and a major proponent of the other approaches.

Aporia of Reproduction

The aporia of reproduction centers around the question of whether one can objectively understand the original meaning of the author by employing a particular method, as the conservatives like Emilio Betti claim. Gadamer (1989) states that his major concern is not to identify a method but to investigate "what is common to all modes of understanding" (p. xxxi) and to understand "what happens to us over and above our wanting and doing" (p. xxviii). Gadamer argues that objective truth can never be arrived at, no matter how exacting the method one uses because interpretation is always constrained by our prejudices. Gadamer suggests that the best the interpreter can do is to become aware of his/her prejudices and neutralize the "blind prejudices" and preserve the "justified prejudices." Becoming aware of prejudices for Gadamer "is not a process of transparently understanding prior thoughts or a prior self...[But] only come to make sense in the encounter with other views" (Smits, 1997, p. 287). Hermeneutics for Gadamer is not about reproducing original meaning but creation of new meaning. Whether reading a text, or interpreting conversation or classroom events, we do not simply reproduce but give the text, conversation or event a new meaning.

Understanding is a creative process. "To understand is always to understand differently" (Kanu, 1993). Conversation facilitates the encounter with other views. In the to and fro of conversation views are exchanged and new understanding arrived at. Conversation is not a reproductive but a creative process, a process of coming to a better understanding.

Aporia of Authority and Emancipation

The aporia of authority and emancipation is based on Habermas' critique of Gadamer. For Habermas, language is always distorted by extralinguistic factors (economic status, social class) which serve to distort all communication and understanding. Habermas argues that hermeneutics focused exclusively on language is inadequate to its task and proposes "depth hermeneutics." Depth hermeneutics uses critical reflection to uncover ideological distortions and promote emancipation. Gadamer responds by pointing out that the power of critical reflection is overestimated and "implies its own freedom from any ideology." He suggests that critical hermeneutics could only be accomplished in a "continuing exchange of views and statements" (Gadamer, 1989) but not by claiming ideological neutrality.

Critical hermeneutics posits that conversation that is not critically reflective is reproductive and serves to legitimate existing power structures. Therefore, it is important to be aware of the extralinguistic forces that act to distort communication between the partners engaged in conversation. This is especially important in a hierarchical and unequal society like Pakistan. As feminist and postcolonial writers have shown, these factors have served historically to exclude women and other cultural groups from conversation. The best way to become aware of distortions is by engaging in critical reflection which brings reproductive forces to the fore, helps to neutralize them and moves us to better understanding and, if critical enough, to emancipation. However, Gadamer reminds us that critical reflection may require continuing conversation as new forces may emerge but will not necessarily lead to understanding that eludes the forces of control or escapes the blinders of ideology.

Aporia of Conversation

The aporia of conversation questions the "possibility or impossibility of truth, conversation and transformation" (Gallagher, 1992, p.23). For Gadamer the aim of hermeneutics is to overcome the duality of subjectivity/objectivity by showing that understanding does not occur through application of a method but through language in the process of conversation or dialogue. Conversation, for Gadamer, "is a process of give

and take between self and other, but is always oriented to something which requires understanding. Thus truth does not come from those involved in conversation, but rather from the process of attending to that which requires understanding. On the other hand, Radical hermeneutics suggests that there is no possibility of arriving at truth, that all interpretation is false. Conversation which is about placing trust in language and believing that meaning is possible is too trusting. Even the distrustful hermeneutics that seeks emancipation from false consciousness and liberation is not suspicious enough for radical hermeneutics. In real conversation, both trust and suspicion is required. Trust is needed for the conversation to occur in the first place and for it to continue. Suspicion is necessary to neutralize the blind prejudices and uncover the extralinguistic forces that act to hinder understanding.

Gallagher suggests that these aporias are really one aporia, the aporia of "ambiguity and the finitude of understanding" (1992, p. 343) which we cannot avoid, but must find a way with which to live. Gallagher calls for us to recognize that interpretation always falls somewhere between reproduction and transformation, between absolute hegemony and absolute emancipation and conversation between trust and suspicion and through which we can never find absolute knowledge, but only partial understanding.

CONVERSATION AS A MODE OF RESEARCH

Conversation as a Hermeneutic Activity

Establishing a conversational relation is a hermeneutical endeavor rooted in Gadamer's moderate hermeneutics which considers interpretive acts in their widest possible sense as the ontological task of understanding the nature of human being-in-the-world. Moderate hermeneutics helps us realize that, as educational researchers attempting to answer questions of educational importance we are not beginning our thinking from scratch but partake in a continuing and evolving conversation which began long before our arrival and which continues with our participation. Thus we enter what Michael Oakeshott (1959) calls "the conversation of mankind[sic]."

Research based in a philosophical hermeneutics gives priority to the question (Gadamer, 1989). According to Gadamer, questions are implicit in all experience. When

we have an "experience" -- when something does not conform to our expectations -- a question "arises" or "presents" itself to us. When this happens, we experience what Gadamer calls a "radical negativity: the knowledge of not knowing" (p.362). Only when we realize and admit that we do not know, can we ask a "right question," a "true question," a question that breaks open the being of the object we are inquiring into, to reveal its multiple dimensions and the areas that need to be understood.

The openness of the question, in the sense that the answer is not determined in advance, allows understanding to occur. If the question already has a predetermined answer, it closes off the possibility of arriving at understanding. The openness of the question allows it to accommodate both pro and counter arguments. Through a dialectical process these positive and negative arguments are judged until the counter arguments offer no positive contributions to the question at hand. Only by going through this process does one come to knowledge.

Conducting the conversation is not a separate activity but a way of coming to the question. When a question arises, we engage in hermeneutic inquiry/interpretation. Often, in our attempts to understand on our own we have to acknowledge that we do not know. This acknowledgment requires us to engage in conversation with others who share the world from which the question arose, have an interest in the question and a desire to come to understanding.

The conversation then proceeds with the genuine interest of the participants to hear each other's voice and a willingness to work together to develop an understanding of the subject of the conversation. The participants' desire to understand the subject, in this case "the potential of social studies for democratic citizenship," encourages them to engage in conversation. The researcher asks questions which encourage the participants to keep thinking about the subject at hand and preserve an openness towards it. As Gadamer (1989) notes, "[t]he art of questioning is the art of questioning even further, that is, the art of thinking. It is called dialectic because it is the art of conducting a real dialogue" (p. 367).

In what Gadamer terms a "genuine conversation" the participants are not concerned with winning an argument or defending a position. Instead, they must allow

themselves to be conducted and sustained by the subject matter to which they are oriented. Conversation often has the appearance of what Barthes (1978 quoted in Carson, 1986, p. 80) calls "discursus" -- a running from place to place, of taking twists and turns which may lead to unexpected insights into the subject matter so that

> [w]hat emerges in its truth is the logos, which is neither mine nor yours and so far transcends the interlocutor's subjective opinions that even the person leading the conversation knows that he[sic] does not know. (Gadamer 1989, p. 368)

In conversation, meaning emerges through language. To allow language to perform this function, an openness to the question must be preserved so the possibility of arriving at true understanding by the premature formation of opinions and conclusions is not closed. Openness may be preserved by the participants' giving due consideration to what emerges in the language of the conversation, as the words spoken may provide insights unexpected by the researcher or the participants (Carson, 1986).

In conversation, one must attend to both what is spoken and to what Gadamer (1989) calls "the infinity of the unsaid." This implies that any linguistic account carries within it unspoken meanings and possibilities of understanding that must be explored and articulated as possible sources of illumination for the topic under investigation. This means that, during the research conversation, the researcher needs to be sensitive to what is implied as well as to what is left unsaid. Either may be a criticism or a positive contribution to the discourse.

Superficially, conversation is an attractive mode of research. It is a natural form of dialogue which allows an easy exchange of ideas and experiences. But how does this form of intercourse take place in an authoritarian, hierarchical, and patriarchal society like Pakistan where there is inequality in authority and socioeconomic status, segregation between the genders, and where preserving the status quo often prevents conversation between different groups from taking place? Can these differences be eliminated in the pursuit of understanding the same question? Would it be sufficient to simply interpret the language of the conversation, ignoring the power/knowledge nexus and the context?

Habermas, recognized the importance of understanding and meaning central to philosophic hermeneutics. He charged that Gadamer is politically naive because he fails to recognize the elements of distortion and deformation imposed by "extrahermeneutical" factors (force, compulsion, coercion) rooted in power relations on interpretation and understanding. He argues that, insofar as philosophic hermeneutics denies the dimensions of power in interpretation by focusing exclusively on language, it remains inadequate to its task. What passes as truth is ideologically distorted (Gallagher, 1992, p. 17).

To counter the limitations in philosophic hermeneutics, Habermas proposes a "depth hermeneutics." He argues that an adequate frame of reference for the interpretation of meaning must recognize how language itself is distorted by social, economic, and political factors of domination and therefore distorts interpretation and communication. Participants in conversation will be unable to recognize these distortions unless they engage in critical reflection on the historical/evolutionary perspective of their situation. Through critical reflection, participants can uncover deceptions and distortions and challenge what they have taken as given both in their personal lives and in the social, economic and political systems that dominate their social lives. The intent is transformation (Habermas, 1972). Conversation thus becomes a hermeneutic activity that goes beyond understanding to critical reflection aimed at challenging existing domination and affirming the freedom of the participants to re-make their society. However, as Shor and Freire (1987) remind us, conversation may be an important process in bringing about self-empowerment and is fundamental for social transformation, but, it is not enough. If conversation is to lead to social transformation, it must connect with other efforts being made in society.

Partners in Conversation

Following the notion of conversation as explicated by Habermas's theory of distorted communication and Gadamer's statement about keeping the question open through genuine conversation, I entered into conversation with education officials and teachers about the potential of social studies education to prepare students for democratic

citizenship. In search of potential partners from the federal and provincial ministries of education, I consulted with two colleagues regarding participants. While one was very hopeful my requests would receive a positive response, given the university I represented, the other colleague was skeptical. He noted the hierarchical nature of Pakistani society and the important positions held by these bureaucrats. In order to partially obviate this difficulty, letters of request were written by associate directors of the Institute for Educational Development, Aga Khan University (IED, AKU) holding positions comparable to the education officials and who were known to them introducing me and my research intentions. A brief summary of the research proposal stating the research question, the reason for the research, the methodology to be used, and the role and rights of participants was attached. A consent form stating the rights of participants and the responsibility of the researcher to maintain confidentiality and the anonymity of the participants, and assurances that the data would be used solely for academic purposes was also attached (Appendix A). Six letters of request were sent out, but only one acceptance was received. I sent out more letters and received two further positive responses. This experience made me aware of how hierarchical structures can constrain the realization of desires, the lack of importance given to education and research, and it caused me to wonder about the possibility of conducting conversation in the Gadamerian sense.

The three teachers were selected from among the participants who had attended the social studies Visiting Teachers Program (VTP) at the IED,AKU. The teachers were selected to reflect the diverse cultural and educational landscape in Pakistan. They came from the private and public schools, Matric and Cambridge schools, schools catering to the poor/lower middle class, middle class and elite. I also chose teachers who were different in terms of sex, religion, ethnicity and professional education to see if these differences would affect the way they addressed the research question in the conversations and in their classroom practice.

The participants consisted of three education officials and three teachers. However, in the actual conduct of the conversations five education officials participated. The pseudonyms of the participants and a brief background of each is given below. The

real names and office of the education officials and the real names of the teachers and the schools where they teach have been concealed to ensure anonymity.

The Education Officials

Aqil — Aqil is an education official in the Ministry of Education, Islamabad. He Has a Ph.D. and has been with the Ministry of Education for the last thirty years.

Farman — Farman is an education official in the Ministry of Education, Islamabad. He has a Ph.D. and had been teaching at a university before coming to the Ministry of Education.

Mushtaq — Mushtaq is an education official in the Ministry of Education, Islamabad. He has a Masters degree and has been with the Ministry of Education for the last thirty years.

Mehrunissa — Mehrunissa is an education official in the Education Department, Government of Sindh. She has a Masters degree and prior to joining the Education Department had taught in a school and at a university.

Shagufta — Shagufta is head of a nongovernmental organization (NGO) working to provide education, training, and resources to other NGOs. She has a Masters degree.

The Teachers

Anila — Anila began teaching seven years ago on the completion of her Masters in economics from Karachi University. At the time of the study she was teaching economics and commercial geography to female students of classes nine and ten in the morning shift and social studies to male students of classes seven and eight in the afternoon shift at a private school.

Malik — Malik began teaching in 1992. He has a Bachelor of Education from Karachi University in the subjects of Urdu and Pakistan Studies. He teaches social studies in a government middle school (classes 6-8) which he joined in August 1998. Just prior to becoming a participant in the research he had attended a two months professional development program in social studies.

Salma — Salma started teaching in 1991. She has a Bachelor of Education from Karachi University. Like Anila and Malik, she too had attended a two months professional development program in social studies. Salma teaches in the Cambridge section of a private school in the morning shift and in the Matric section of the same school in the afternoon shift.

Conducting Conversations

The research conversations with the education officials and the teachers were conducted between December 1998 and June 1999 in Islamabad and Karachi. As I had already introduced myself and my research intentions to the education officials and received their consent, I proceeded to arrange a mutually agreeable time for the conversations. Three research conversations, ranging from thirty to ninety minutes, were held with two officials in Islamabad and a conversation of approximately one hour with the third. In Karachi, two conversations of approximately ninety minutes each were held with two officials. When I met the education officials for the first conversation, I spent some time in introductions and worked to develop a personal/professional relationship to help facilitate conversation and to understand how they lived their lives.

I personally met with each teacher to explain the research question and to see if it was of interest to them. We conversed briefly about the question and the roles we were to play and I sought their consent. After they agreed, I held an individual conversation with each teacher. This was followed by three more individual and five group conversations throughout the duration of the research.

All formal conversations both with the education officials and the teachers were audio-recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions served two purposes. When returned to the participants prior to another conversation, they allowed participants to verify ideas, express an idea differently or further develop an idea. The transcriptions also enabled me to return to the conversations to analyze and hermeneutically consider what they said about education for democratic citizenship and to share my interpretations of our conversations with them.

My original intention was to observe the teacher lessons and engage in conversations with them to identify how their classroom practices might help prepare their students for democratic citizenship. However, soon after the study began I realized that the teachers were unable to translate their desires into classroom practices for democratic citizenship, and we moved into action research.

ACTION RESEARCH

I was originally introduced to action research in my Master's in Education program. I was attracted to action research at this time because I felt it was a process through which teachers could move from isolation to community as well as empower themselves as professionals to improve their own practices and the contexts in which they practice. The potential of action research lay in Carr and Kemmis' (1986) claim that action research is a collaborative yet self-reflective inquiry process, in the fact that theory was embedded in and arose from practice, and in the possibility of improving the contexts in which these practices are carried out. During my Ph.D. program I took another course in action research. This course traced the development of action research from Kurt Lewin, to its application to education by Wilfred Carr and Stephen Kemmis, to Terrance Carson and Dennis Sumara's (1997) reconceptualization of it as "living practice," a reconceptualization of action research to include "solitary, meditative practice" and activities such as "reading," "thinking," and "drawing" with a focus on the person of the researcher who is asked to account for "the way in which the investigation both shapes and is shaped by the investigator" (p. xiii).

The readings and discussions in the class around this reconceptualization disturbed me greatly. Everyone else seemed to accept this reconceptualization of action research. Why was I so disturbed? Was this a postmodern reading? (wasn't everything these days?). Was it a conceptualization suited only to the North American context? How was I interpreting this conceptualization coming from a Third World country? Reflecting on it I tried to discover what was disturbing me, but it eluded me.

It was not until the necessity to use action research arose that I was able to put my finger on what disturbed me. It was the way I had interpreted the historical development of action research. Using a modernist notion of progress as linear I understood Carr and Kemmis as replacing Lewin and Carson and Sumara's conceptualization as replacing Carr and Kemmis'. I also interpreted Carson and Sumara's (1997) reconceptualization of action research as apolitical focusing only on the personal. Without its participatory, collaborative, and political dimension action research did not speak to me. However, a rereading of Carson and Sumara (1997) made me aware that they were not ignoring the political, but emphasizing the need to take into account the complexity of relations between those collaboratively engaged in action research, the complex nature of the practice we are trying to understand and improve, the complex and ever evolving relation between us and the world, and to be thoughtful and act compassionately so as not to reproduce the relations of power that our thoughts and actions seek to overturn.

Decision to do Action Research

My decision to use action research resulted from the need to collaborate with the teachers to translate knowledge of what teaching for democratic citizenship required into classroom practices. I chose action research because I realize teaching is complex, idiosyncratic and difficult. I believed the collective self-reflective inquiry that action research calls for would allow teachers to understand and improve their practice and the contexts in which these practices are carried out (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988). Action research as a collaborative effort which involved teachers at every stage of the process would provide ownership as well as the support and challenge needed to engage in new practices. The knowledge derived from these practices would be "personal

knowledge" (Polyani in Carr and Kemmis, 1986) which would be more reliable and informed so important in Pakistan, where schools differ greatly in material conditions and where teachers usually feel that what is taught at the university is not applicable in their own classrooms. Finally I believed action research would encourage reflection on knowledge that would help teachers see the theory underpinning their practice, generate new theory from their practice, thereby eliminating the theory-practice divide, and recognize that the knowledge derived from the research could be the basis for social action. During research the objective limits in the given context constrain actions. By recognizing that these limits are socially constructed, teachers can act to alter these limits and create spaces and possibilities for change.

My role in the action research process was twofold -- as a facilitator and as a researcher. As a facilitator, my role was to engage with the teachers in planning, implementing and reflecting on their classroom practices to the degree they determined. In my role as researcher, I observed and recorded their actions in the classroom, critically reflected on them and engaged in reflective conversations about the data to see how their practices and the school were affected.

Conducting Action Research

I began the action research by sharing with the teachers the method of action research. I specifically discussed the theory and the sequence of steps in the self-reflective spiral of reflecting, planning, acting and observing as I wanted them to participate in conceptualizing the research as well as in the continuing spirals. The first stage consisted of the individual action research projects during which each teacher and I planned, implemented and reflected on their classroom practice. I used script taping and diagramming/mapping to record classroom observation. Script taping required scribbling frantically to ensure one got down everything that was said, who said it and the gestures and facial expressions that accompanied the statements. On returning from an observation my research assistant and I would sit down and complete our own notes, and then get together to compare notes and prepare a final draft of the observation.

While this procedure was time consuming it was very productive. Occasionally we translated words or viewed a classroom event quite differently. When this happened we had to negotiate meaning and work towards "inter-rater agreement." Short reflective conversations were conducted immediately after the lesson when time permitted, when it was necessary, and after every two weeks for more critical reflection on the data. The individual action research projects were followed by a collaborative action research project during which teachers came together to reflect on their individual action research projects, to plan together for action based on their reflection, to implement the plan in their classrooms and to collaboratively reflect on the process and product and the nature of their collaboration at the end of the research.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

This study is concerned with understanding how teaching and learning of social studies has come to be the way it is in Pakistan and how new practices can be developed to serve democracy. I conducted a review of education policy documents, curriculum guides, and textbooks within a framework of the sociopolitical history of Pakistan. A brief descriptive overview of the documents that will be analyzed in chapter four is provided below.

Policy Documents

In the historical review, I have analyzed the education policies of 1947, 1959, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998. The report of the 1947 educational conference, which was held just three months after Pakistan gained independence from colonial rule, consists of the address of the founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the convenor of the conference Fazul Rehman. It presents reports from the various committees -- primary and secondary, women's education and so on as well as the resolutions of the conference.

The report of the Commission on National Education 1959 is by far the most extensive report on education in Pakistan. The report was prepared after receiving replies to an exhaustive questionnaire covering all aspects of education at all levels. The questionnaire was printed and sent to individuals and institutions throughout Pakistan.

After four months of discussion with educationists and leading public officials, it was adopted..

The 1972 and 1979 education policies proposed radical changes to the education system. These documents state the aims of education and then outline their implementation at every level of the education system.

The 1992 and 1998 education policies were both framed by the Nawaz Sharief government. The 1992 policy in his first term of office and the 1998 in his second term of office. Both policies begin by deliberating on the state of education in Pakistan, provide detailed aims for education and implementation strategies for improving quantity, quality and relevance of education for Pakistan.

Curriculum Guides

The existing curriculum for social studies education was prepared in 1973 in light of the New Education Policy 1972-1980. Since 1973 only a few changes have been made to the curriculum document itself because successive reviews (the last in 1995) have found the content suggested for social studies suitable. For this reason, only the 1973 curriculum document has been analyzed.

The curriculum document gives a brief overview of the history of social studies and sets out the aims of teaching social studies. This is followed by the presentation, in the form of a grid, of the objectives, concepts, contents, activities, audio-visual aids and evaluation methods for each chapter included in each textbook for classes one to ten. (Appendix B).

Textbooks

All schools in Pakistan, with the exception of the Cambridge schools, are legally bound to use the textbook written and published by the Government. Some private English medium schools do use texts published by private publishers but these also follow closely the curriculum prescribed by the government. The social studies textbooks prescribed by the Government and published by the provincial textbook boards are all

paperback and cost less than a Canadian dollar each. The quality of the paper used is poor and often fails to last the entire academic year.

The textbooks published for the primary classes (1-5) have a few colored maps, pictures and illustrations. The texts for the secondary classes (6-10) are in black and white with only a few maps in color. Texts for the primary classes consist of less than a hundred pages while those for classes 6-8 a little over a hundred pages and the text for classes 9 and 10 over 200 pages. Pages are covered in text with an occasional picture or illustration. Very few if any tables, graphs and charts are found in the texts. While maps are referred to in the text to further understanding of the content, the same is not true for the illustrations, pictures or the occasional graph or table.

At the end of each chapter there are a few "WH" questions, a few fill in the blanks and sometimes a section entitled Practical work which ask students to draw a map, collect samples of something, and so on. The answers to all the questions and fill-in items are in the text. Differences most noticeable in the texts published by local, private publishers are in the better presentation and paper used, in the colored illustrations found throughout the texts and in the price.

The Oxford University Press (OUP) is the only foreign publisher, publishing texts locally for use in the primary classes in schools in Pakistan. Its texts are mainly used in the Cambridge schools and in some of the more elite private English medium schools. The national social studies curriculum is very repetitive. For example, the curriculum calls for a chapter on transportation and communication in classes 3,4 and 5. The texts published by the OUP deals with all forms of transportation in class 3 and all forms of communication in class 4. Having satisfied curriculum requirements, they include new topics such as the ancient past of Pakistan in class 5. The OUP textbooks are superior in their presentation and in some content areas than the government or private published textbooks. Like the other texts the questions and fill in items also call on students to provide answers using the text. However, a section entitled "Things to do" calls for students to be more creative. At the end of each textbook are two to three pages of "Teacher's notes" which suggest ways the teacher should deal with each chapter, activities

the teacher can use and in some cases directs teachers to supplementary materials but only its own publications. The price of these texts are about five Canadian dollars.

Children in classes 6-8 in the Cambridge schools study geography and history as separate subjects. The texts used for these classes are usually imported from British publishing houses. These texts focus on world geography and world history. In classes 9 and 10 students can continue to study the disciplines of geography and history but they are required to study and are examined in Pakistan Studies in the GCE examinations. Pakistan Studies is social studies with a focus on Pakistan.

The social studies textbooks for classes 3-8 and the Pakistan Studies text for classes 9-10 published by the Sindh Text Book Board (STBB), the social studies texts of classes 1-8 printed by a private local publisher GABA, the texts for classes 1-5 published locally by the OUP were analyzed. The textbooks published by the three textbook boards of the other provinces (Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan) were examined. As insignificant differences were noted between them and those published by the STBB they are not included in the study.

Critical Analysis

The textbook is the instructional tool in social studies classrooms in Pakistan. The centrality of the textbook in the teaching and learning of social studies is the key motivation for its analysis. The textbook analysis sought to answer "What knowledge is of most worth in the preparation of citizens in Pakistan? The conflict over what should be taught indicates that it is not only an educational issue but an inherently ideological and political one. Apple (1999) suggests we highlight the political nature of the debate by asking "whose knowledge is of most worth?"

In order to answer the questions: what and whose knowledge is of most worth, a brief historical inquiry of the political, economic and social context was undertaken against which each education policy was written to see how the context influenced the content of the policy. Each education policy was analyzed to reveal the ideological underpinnings and to identify the directions it suggested for education in general and social studies in particular.

Education officials in Pakistan translate the policy directions for education into a national curriculum document for each subject. The curriculum document sets out the aims of teaching and learning social studies, acts as a blueprint for textbook writers, informs teachers of what and how the subject is to be taught, how student learning is to be assessed, and guides the preparation of external examinations. The analysis of the social studies curriculum document was guided by the following questions: What vision/aspiration does the curriculum hold for Pakistani children? What is deemed the most important knowledge for citizens in Pakistan? Whose benefits are served and whose are not in the production and legitimization of this knowledge? What are the consequences for developing democratic citizens?

The battle for "what" and "whose" knowledge will enter the classroom, is played out on yet another turf, that of textbook writing and publishing. Textbook writing and publishing is controlled by the educational bureaucracy. Schools are bound by law to use only the textbooks prescribed by the government. The authority of the textbook is enhanced by the fact that it is the instructional tool in social studies classrooms. Its authority is unquestioned because teachers in Pakistani schools do not have access to other instructional resources.

To answer what and whose knowledge is of most worth with reference to my research question a representative sample of social studies textbooks used in Pakistani schools were analyzed. The analysis was guided by the following questions: What ideological message(s) undergird the textbook? What notions of democracy, of the role of government, of citizenship are developed? How is the question of difference in gender, ethnicity, religion dealt with? What notion of Islam is presented? What tension, conflicts, contradictions are embedded in the text? What consequences does this knowledge have for development of democracy and democratic citizenship?

Media Analysis

Ellsworth (1997) takes up the analytical concept "mode of address," common in film and media studies, and applies it to education with the intent of making "visible and problematic the ways that all curricula and pedagogies invite their users to take up

particular positions within relations of knowledge, power and desire" (p. 2). However, she notes that viewers/students do not just take up the abstract position assigned to them by a film/curriculum mode of address but often refuse, resist or act in self-directed and intentional ways. She states, "Our pleasures in the movies stubbornly refuse any rigid dichotomies between simple, pure acts of highly receptive, complicit reproduction of the positions offered us on the one hand, and critical resistance to or refusal of those positions on the other" (p. 35).

Ellsworth's use of mode of address to study how students are addressed specifically within the classroom practice of dialogue and how they actually take up, refuse or resist that address to imagine and enact social and cultural identities, is of special importance to people who are interested in social change. Once the relationship between text and a person's response is figured out, changing the text or teaching the person how to resist or subvert the position the text invites them to take is possible(p. 22).

I use the analytical concept "mode of address" to analyze how the curriculum, especially the social studies texts, addresses students. What positions do the curriculum/textbook encourage students and teachers to take up? How does this positioning serve to control as much as possible how they read the text so as to accept the ascribed position? How does this positioning shape who they become and how they act in the world? The answers to the questions what and whose knowledge is of most worth are crucial because they will indicate the text's mode of address, not easily visible but which call on students to take up a position which it constructs for them. How do teachers and students take up, resist or subvert the positions the text constructs for them? How does their relationship to the text affect how they act in the world? Can different modes of address encourage other ways of being and acting in the world? Can individual and/or social change in the way we come to be and act in the world be fueled by the way students and teachers are addressed by curriculum (and pedagogy)?

This study is a quest for possibilities of how social studies education can serve the preparation of democratic citizens in Pakistan. The identification of possibilities requires an understanding of the historical and current movements that are shaping education in general and social studies education in particular. In chapter four I have addressed this

requirement by briefly reviewing Pakistan's sociopolitical history and its influence on education, and analyzing the textbooks to see what students are learning today. In chapter five I engage in research conversations with education officials. The conversations would be similar to what Gadamer (1989) calls genuine conversation in that all the participants shared an interest in the question, directed themselves to the questions and were open to the new questions that arose during the conversation. Chapter six details the individual and collaborative action research of the teachers. The teachers undertook a critical inquiry of their practice so as to improve it and the context in which it is carried out. The action research and the conversations aimed at understanding and improving their practice were guided by Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics and Habermas' critical hermeneutics which involve taking distance from one's practice first to understand and then application of that understanding to improve it.

Chapter four

SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

INTRODUCTION

Education is not neutral, and schools do not function in a vacuum. They are deeply implicated in the history, politics and culture of a society. The sociopolitical situation influences education.

Pakistan was born in the aftermath of World War II when the colonial empires were collapsing and struggles for freedom of the colonized were becoming more urgent. In the Indian sub-continent, the struggle for freedom took an unexpected turn when the Muslims of India, unable to receive adequate assurance from the Hindu majority that living together was possible, decided to fight for a separate country where Muslims would be able to live in accordance with Islam. Deciding on the nature and form of education in this nation meant reflecting this reality. Pakistanis decided that the education system would be guided by the Islamic principle of universal brotherhood, social democracy and social justice. Over time, and in the face of new realities, the question of the ideology that should guide education was asked again and again. While the answer remained the same, its interpretation differed.

This chapter attempts to uncover these different ideologies and to demonstrate how they have influenced education in general and the teaching and learning in social studies classrooms in particular.

OVERVIEW OF PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL HISTORY

Post-Independence Era (1947-1958)

The post independence era can be divided into the beginning years (1947-1951) and the crises of succession (1951-1958). Both are part of an era in which Pakistan was run virtually as an administrative state.

The Beginning Years (1947-1951)

The beginning years were fraught with challenges. Conditions between Pakistan and India were not propitious. Internally, Pakistan was "challenged by divisive ethnic and provincial forces (when Urdu was declared the national language in 1948 riots broke out in East Pakistan with the demand of coequal status for Bangla), denied the essential elements required to govern a contemporary state, destabilized by communal conflict (it is estimated that twenty million people became refugees seeking homes in the other Dominion, of which three million perished in communal riots), and generally unprepared for the responsibilities of administering to a diverse population, separated spatially and temperamentally (East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan by a thousand miles of Indian territory)" (Ziring, 1997, p. 64. Explanation in brackets mine).

These problems were faced with the same spirit that led to the creation of Pakistan. For little over a year, the independent state of Pakistan was ruled by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, its founder and first Governor-General. Jinnah was a committed constitutionalist but the extreme circumstances necessitated his "center[ing] attention on executive decision-making, on the centralization of authority and on crises management... Jinnah['s] authoritative voice...all but silenced the representative institution" (ibid., p. 100).

On the death of Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister took over leadership. Opposition to Liaquat Ali Khan began immediately over his choice of Nazimuddin, a Bengali, as Governor-General and his settling of the Muhajirs (refugees from India) primarily in Hyderabad and Karachi was not seen favorably by the indigenous people (Kazi, 1991). Opposition to the Prime Ministers policies led to intrigue and maneuvering among the politicians that opened the way for members of the bureaucracy and armed services to play more formidable political roles. In 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated.

An important event during this era was the adoption of the Objectives Resolution by the constituent assembly on March 7, 1949, which established a framework for drafting the constitution. The Resolution stated that sovereignty belongs to Allah and Pakistan was created as a homeland where the Muslims could live their lives in

accordance with Islam. More generally, the guiding principles were to be democracy, freedom, equality and social justice (Callard, 1957).

The Succession Crises (1951-1958)

The optimism of the initial years soon gave way to a succession of political crises. These crises led to the office of Governor General becoming all powerful, the dismissal of the prime minister, the dissolution of the first constituent assembly in 1954 and the formation of a cabinet dominated by civil-military bureaucrats. At this time the phrase "controlled democracy" was coined and "Pakistan's dominant personalities concluded that the Pakistani nation wanted strong leaders, not weak democracy." (Ziring, 1997, p. 169)

In 1955, the provinces of West Pakistan were united into a single administrative unit. The purpose of this reorganization was to balance the power of East Pakistan and deny it representation commensurate with its population as well to eliminate ethnic identities. The action proved to be divisive rather than unifying and served to diminish political activity and heighten the role of the country's civil-military bureaucrats.

In 1956, a constitution was framed making Pakistan a Republic with a president as its head. The first President was Major-General Iskandar Mirza. Although power of decision was vested in the parliament, the President was provided expanded powers. Parochial loyalties and personal ambition led to the President dismissing the Prime Minister and appointing another whose government resigned two months later. The instability of governments (seven in ten years) resulted in the call for an end to the charade of parliamentary government. Khan Sahib, a parliamentarian claimed, "We are unfit for democracy" and called for a "revolutionary council" comprised of "ten best men" to run the country (Ziring, 1997, p. 206).

Pakistan's First Martial Law: The Decade of Development and its Aftermath (1958-1970)

On October 7, 1958, Martial Law was imposed under the authority of President Iskandar Mirza, and General Muhammad Ayub Khan was made the Chief Martial Law

Administrator (CMLA). Following Mirza's resignation, the office of the Prime Minister was eliminated and Ayub Khan took on the office of the President.

With the formation of One Unit, problems arose as the different ethnic nationalities found it difficult to shed their ethnic identities for an abstract national identity. Ayub noticed that other traditional power groups such as the feudal lords, tribal leaders and religious fundamentalists were not willing to give up their power in the interest of the nation. He therefore established the National Bureau of Reconstruction to encourage these groups to help in the creation of civil society and help build the nation. Through his efforts at reconstruction, reforms were instituted in many sectors.

Ayub conceived of a political order without political parties, but with a form of grassroots government called Basic Democracies. The system called for villagers to elect representatives from among themselves to form a village council responsible for answering public needs. The system was, however, dependent on the services and expertise of the civil administration that controlled all resources. Instead of the people the civil administration became powerful.

In the economic sector, prices were lowered, import of foreign-made goods restricted, and large economic units encouraged. Since the large economic units were run by a few business families, Ayub was accused of encouraging the development of Pakistan's "twenty -two" leading business families. Although this regime instituted land reforms, "[t]he power of the big landlords was altered, but hardly affected, by the reforms" (ibid., p. 234).

In the social sector Ayub introduced the Muslim Family Law Ordinance in 1961. The Ordinance aimed at protecting the weaker female by setting a limit on the age of marriage for male and female, imposing restriction on the husband's right to divorce his spouse, safeguarding the wife's rights and those of her children to specified property. This Ordinance was met with opposition by Muslim *ulemas* (Islamic scholars). Ayub found it difficult to address the issue as the constitution did not clearly specify the role and place of religion in what was to be a pluralistic and secular state.

In 1968, amidst celebrations to mark the "decade of development," people all over the country launched protests and strikes demanding an end to military rule and the

holding of general elections. The political crises forced Ayub to hand over control to General Muhammad Yahya Khan in March 1969.

Realizing the seriousness of the crises, General Yahya Khan abolished the One Unit scheme and reconstituted the former provinces of West Pakistan. He announced general elections, in which the provincial distribution of seats was based on population. In the 1970 elections the Awami League of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman won 167 seats in East Pakistan and the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto won 81 seats in West Pakistan. Neither won a single seat in the other part of the country. Reluctance to allow the Awami League to form the government led to province-wide protests in East Pakistan. The situation deteriorated into civil war and the demand for secession. At the request of the secessionists, India joined the war. On 17 December, 1971, Dacca fell to Indian troops and a new country Bangladesh came into being. Only after ripping the country asunder, demoralizing the people and undergoing complete humiliation itself did the military hand over power to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

The Civilian Era (1971-1977)

Bhutto took over power as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. This dual and interrelated role gave him absolute power. Bhutto had won the elections on the PPP manifesto that was an attempt to merge Islam with socialist ideas and liberal democratic values. In line with his socialist agenda he nationalized private banks, industries, schools and colleges. The unexpected action pleased the people but caused a "precipitous drop in Pakistan's international credit, as well as a flight of capital" (ibid. p. 384).

The dissolution of "one unit" and restoration of the original provinces led to demands for the promotion of the culture of the people. In 1972 a bill for the promotion of Sindhi language in the Sindh Assembly led to riots between Muhajirs and Sindhis (Ahmed, 1998). A challenge by the Balochistan government to the authority of Islamabad led to a major military campaign in that province.

In 1973, the constituent assembly unanimously adopted a constitution, making Pakistan an Islamic Republic with a parliamentary form of government and all significant

powers centered in the office of the Prime Minister. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became the first elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. Within a few years, Bhutto's commitment to his party's ideals of social justice succumbed to the creation of a personality cult. Having reduced the power of the industrialists and the bureaucrats (he had earlier dissolved the elite Civil Service of Pakistan), he set out to destroy the feudal system and the rural power structure. He announced land reforms that reduced land holdings and declared the resumed land would be distributed among landless farmers. Feeling he had earned the urban and now the rural vote by weakening all power groups and seeing the opposition in disarray, Bhutto called for elections.

Soon after the call for elections the divided opposition found common ground and formed a coalition of parties called the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The fundamentalist parties in the PNA appealed to the people to overthrow Bhutto because of his un-Islamic lifestyle and his secular and socialist policies. The 1977 elections were followed by claims they had been rigged and protests from the opposition demanding fresh elections. Hoping to curb the opposition's protest by placating the fundamentalists, Bhutto banned alcohol, closed amusement establishments and declared Friday as the weekly holiday. The opposition was not appeased, protests turned violent and the army had to be called to assist the civil administration. The army refused to be used as the instrument of official violence against its people. The government's inability to control the situation led to a military coup d'état.

The Military Rule of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988)

On July 5, 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial Law and became the Chief Martial Law Administrator. He put Bhutto and the opposition leaders in "protective custody" until law and order could be established. He dissolved the national and provincial governments, suspended the constitution and promised to hold elections within ninety days. Zia called for elections, but seeing the following Bhutto still had among the people, postponed them indefinitely, arrested Bhutto, and tried him for plotting to kill an opponent. Bhutto was sentenced to death and was hung, even though it is generally believed that the verdict was fixed.

While in power, Zia began to see a political future for himself. The call of the opposition for imposition of *Nizam-e-Mustafa* (Rule of the Prophet), Zia's own devout observance of Islamic tradition and conviction that Islam was the only force that could bind Pakistanis together and prevent further unraveling of the political and social fabric led him to begin converting Pakistan into an Islamic state. Economically he instituted changes in the banking system by introducing *mudaraba* (profit and loss sharing) and imposed *ushr* (tax on agriculture). However, the egalitarian practice of abolishing the institution of *riba* (usury) and *muzara'a* (share cropping or ground rent) was conveniently ignored (Haque, 1985).

In the sociocultural sphere he instituted *zakat* (a proportion of wealth to be given in alms) and issued the *Hudood* Ordinance (punishments prescribed in the *Qur'an* and *sunnah*) enforcing the Islamic code of behavior and harsh penalties for infringements. He introduced an Islamic judicial system comprising of *Qazi* courts (headed by religious judges) alongside the secular judicial system and imposed Islamic laws such as *qisas* (the right of pre-emption) and *diyat* (the Islamic law of evidence which equates the evidence of two women with that of one man).

Politically he formed the *Majlis-i-Shura* (consultative assembly) of selected people to perform the task of the legislature without the powers associated with it. For the first time in the history of Pakistan, about three percent of the population were declared minorities and could vote only under a separate electorate system. In 1983, the political parties joined together in a Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and protest demonstrations against Martial Law spread throughout the country.

Having assured his presidency through a referendum and having amended the constitution to reduce the legislature to an advisory body, in 1985 Zia held elections on a non-party basis, lifted martial law but did not end military rule. The MRD stepped up pressure for a transition to democracy. Zia responded by dismissing the Junejo government, dissolved the assemblies and declared the Islamic legal code would be the supreme law of the land. The political climate further deteriorated, ethnic, communal and sectarian strife increased and Zia was forced to call elections. However, before the

elections could be held, Zia's plane was sabotaged, and he was blown to pieces during a flight.

A Return to Democracy: The New Civilian Era (1988-1999)

Following the death of General Zia-ul-Haq the country came under the transitional rule of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, a career bureaucrat and Chairman of the Senate. The elections of 1988 were largely fought between the PPP (the legacy of Bhutto), and a coalition of parties called the *Islamic Jamhooria Itehad* (IJI or Islamic Democratic Alliance) which adopted the program of Zia-ul-Haq. The PPP garnered more seats than the IJI but neither had a majority. After the PPP formed alliances with other parties, the leader of the PPP Benazir Bhutto was asked to form the government.

The Pakistani nation looked to her to write a new, democratic chapter but "her democratic propensities were... more apparent in the opposition than in service of the nation" (Ziring, 1997, p. 528). When her government refused to accept the electoral victory of the opposition in the Punjab and tried to undermine the provincial government there. It lost the confidence of its coalition partners and her government was accused of corruption. The needs of the nation: healthcare, education, gender equity, inflation, unemployment, curbing ethnic and sectarian violence went unattended. Using the powers granted him under the 8th Amendment, the President dismissed the government, dissolved the assemblies and asked a former Chief Minister of Sindh Ghulam Mustafa Jatio to form a caretaker government.

The IJI government of Nawaz Sharief was formed after the 1990 elections. For the first time in the history of Pakistan the government was in the hands of a coalition of the business and commercial class with fundamental religious and ethnic groups. The government's industrial background led to its unleashing the forces of capitalism in the name of national renewal and reconstruction. This led to huge gains for big industrialists but far too little improvement for the larger public.

In 1991, in keeping with his legacy, Nawaz Sharief pushed through the National assembly the *Shariet* Bill (coming from *shari'ah*, the religious law of Islam) which called for a more stringent Islamic legal system and a religiously ordered educational system but

not for Islamization of commerce and banking. The bill was not approved by the Senate. Fundamentalists criticized the government for lack of commitment to Islamic principles, and secularists for the conversion of Pakistan into a theocratic state. A constitutional crises followed the appointment of a new Chief of Army Staff (COAS) by the President, who did not consult the Prime Minister. This led to a confrontation between the Prime Minister and the traditional power source, the civil-military bureaucracy. Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed the government of Nawaz Sharief on 18 April, 1993. Nawaz Sharief declared the action illegal and unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court ordered the reinstatement of his government. Chaos resulted as neither was willing to back down. The army chief forced both men to step down in the larger interests of the nation. An interim government was appointed.

The 1993 elections were fought between the same two parties. The elections returned Benazir Bhutto to power. Elections for the President, also brought her candidate Farooq Leghari to power. People expected the government to address the issues facing the nation now that it was assured its five year term. However, the government focused on political rivalry (war with Nawaz Sharief continued, and a family feud between Benazir and her mother/brother duo, which ended in her brother being gunned down on September 21, 1996) ignoring the multiple socioeconomic problems burdening Pakistan and the ethnic and sectarian disturbances rocking the nation. On the economic front, the IMF warned it would only do business when the nation's fiscal account was strengthened. Seeing the government's ineptness at dealing with issues facing it, the President dismissed the government on November 5, 1996.

In February 1997, following the fourth general election in nine years, the people voted in Nawaz Sharief giving him a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, a majority sufficient for him to make changes to the constitution and address the multiple problems burdening the nation. The new government, however, used its majority to consolidate its own power. Under the guise of accountability, it launched a victimization process against the opposition. It used the national assembly not to debate but to rubber stamp bills. Its party members stormed the Supreme Court when it was hearing a petition against the Prime Minister. It got rid of the elected government in Sindh and imposed

governor's rule, and it ordered a crackdown on journalists who had helped the BBC make a documentary on the Prime Minister. The only institution left with any power was the army. Differences had begun between the government and the army in the aftermath of the Kargil crises, but the dismissal by the government of the COAS and Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee General Pervez Musharraf on 12 October, 1999, while he was in Sri Lanka, proved to be the last straw, and resulted in a military coup the same day.

Military Rule Again (1999-)

The Military coup of General Pervez Musharraf was warmly greeted by most Pakistanis and international acceptance soon followed. His promise to work towards national integration, a buoyant economy and the establishment of "true democracy" is exactly what the nation is yearning for, and towards which they hope to see him taking bold and quick strides.

This brief historical review of Pakistan's sociopolitical history indicates Pakistanis have always desired democracy. Pakistan's constitutions have clearly indicated Pakistan to be a democratic state with power residing in the people. The manifesto of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) that brought Z.A. Bhutto to power tried to merge the desires of the people in a framework that included Islam, socialism and democracy. Even military dictators have been forced to share power with the people as a way of legitimating their rule, and the present dictator has promised the institutionalization of "true democracy."

Whenever dictators have usurped the power of the people, the people have risen against them to regain that power. However, while defiant to dictators they have been unable to remain vigilant during democracy. Education is seen as a way of preparing citizens for their role in democracy. I turn now to education policies adopted during each of these governments to see what education they suggested.

ANALYSIS OF PAKISTAN'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY DOCUMENTS

Each distinct political transition has resulted in the development and implementation of a new education policy, as each government claimed that the education system was not adequately meeting the needs and requirements of the nation.

The dismal state of education in Pakistan today with adult literacy 38%, primary enrollment 74% and a drop out rate of 52 % before children reach class five (Human Development Centre, 1999) clearly shows that the education system has not met the needs of the country. But poor education was not the only reason. Unlike countries that claim education is neutral, in Pakistan, education has always had an ideological basis. Item one of the supplementary agenda of the Pakistan Educational Conference in 1947 asks, "What should be the ideological basis of education?" The answer was the Islamic principles of "human brotherhood, social democracy and social justice" (Government of Pakistan, 1947, p.3).

However, each political transition brought in a government with its own ideology, one different from its predecessors, and each saw the education system as the state's ideological apparatus (Althusser 1972). Through this apparatus they could bring the population into direct contact with their ideology and reproduce it. The differing ideological perceptions of each government were reflected in the education policies and were responsible for specific changes in the national social studies curriculum.

The Pakistan Educational Conference 1947

After independence in 1947, Pakistan faced multifarious problems. While dealing with the immediate problems, the government recognized the need to address the long-term objectives of national development. One of these was the restructuring and reorientation of the education system. This required that the limitations in the present system used to serve colonialism be recognized, a vision for an independent Pakistan be developed, and suggestions as to how best education could help realize that vision be acquired. Addressing the delegates, Fazul Rehman, the Minister in charge of education pointed out that the educational system that had been inherited "was intended to serve a narrow, utilitarian purpose," had a "literary" bias in which "unrelated ideas and facts pass[ed] for knowledge." This system, he concluded, did not prepare people for "the business of living" or for meeting the "needs of the changing society." The founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, said, these limitations required an "education policy and program on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history

and culture and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world" (Government of Pakistan, 1947, p. 5).

Fazul Rehman's inaugural address, envisioned Pakistan not as a "theocratic state" in which the ruler is a "vice-regent of God on earth" and the government a "sacerdotal class deriving its authority from God," but as "a modern democratic state" based on the Islamic principles of the "universal brotherhood of man [sic], social democracy and social justice." In such a state "ruler and the ruled alike are equal, [the ruler is] but a representative of the people who have chosen him to serve them" (ibid., p. 6).

The task envisaged for the educational system was the "building of a modern democratic state" whose citizens would be educated in "body, mind and character" to live a good life themselves and contribute to efforts to improve the lives of others. To accomplish this task, the education system was to be "animated and guided" by the Islamic principles of "universal brotherhood of man [sic], social democracy and social justice" and the "democratic virtues of tolerance, self-help, self-sacrifice..." found in Islam.

Fazul Rehman said the aims of education in a democratic society must include the "vocational," "social or political," "spiritual" and "physical" elements. He attached the highest importance to the spiritual element because it helped "purge men's minds of barbarianism and turn them to humanitarian purposes" and to do this it needed to be universal in outlook and "must eschew sectarian and narrow doctrinal lines." The sociopolitical element entailed "training for citizenship." He stated,

> The possession of a vote by a person ignorant of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship...is responsible for endless corruption and political instability. Our education must ...[teach] the fundamental maxim of democracy, that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance and it must aim at cultivating the civic virtues of discipline, integrity, and unselfish public service. (p. 8)

He noted that education must serve to make all members of the body politic, citizens of Pakistan, "no matter what political, religious or provincial label one may possess" (p.8).

The delegates to the conference were asked: What should be the ideological basis of education? Fazul Rehman had expressed in unequivocal terms that the education system was to be based on the Islamic principles of "universal brotherhood of man[sic], social democracy and social justice" (ibid., 3). The delegates agreed with him, for the conference resolution reads, "Education inspired by Islamic ideology emphasizing among its many characteristics those of universal brotherhood, tolerance and justice" (ibid., p. 43).

A number of major problems were identified and ways of addressing them suggested. Illiteracy in a democratic state was seen as a "grave menace" to the security and well-being of the State; therefore, it was the duty of the state to provide "boys and girls universal, compulsory and free basic education... in the shortest period of time" and to promote "adult education." To address the language issue he suggested we follow the Russians, who "instead of forcing different national groups into the narrow Russian mold have made all languages the medium of instruction." He suggested Urdu play the same role as Russian, and English be retained as it allowed "access to the secrets of Western science and culture." University education and technical education was to be improved to raise the intellectual and moral tone of society and promote industrial development.

The educational conference, in the revolutionary spirit that had given birth to Pakistan and was animating her, envisioned an educational system that would prepare citizens for a democratic society based on equality, justice, tolerance, self-sacrifice and public service. Education, therefore, had to prepare citizens with the knowledge and dispositions needed to realize such a society. These values were to guide all decisions. As a result, education, so essential to all citizens in a democracy, was to be compulsory and free. Recognizing that many adults were illiterate, the education system was to provide adult literacy. The intent to address the issue of tolerance and respect for others is evident in the way the conference purported to deal with the language issue.

Report of the Commission on National Education 1959

In December 1958, a Commission on National Education was appointed by the Martial Law Government of Ayub Khan. Its task was to evolve a national education

system which would "better reflect our spiritual, moral and cultural values" and "meet...the growing needs of the nation by assisting development in the fields of agriculture, science and technology." The proposals were to ensure "the best possible use of available human and national wealth" within the "limited resources of the country" (Government of Pakistan, 1959, p. 1).

The report identified the limitations in the present society which education should address. These limitations included passivity and non-cooperation in public affairs, non-acceptance of public authority, placing oneself before the community, and disruptive forces of regionalism and provincialism. These are similar to those the National Bureau of Reconstruction was set up to deal with. Education was seen as another avenue to achieve the same ends.

The 1959 policy states that Pakistan, "arose from the striving to preserve the Islamic way of life," a life "governed by the principles of truth, justice and benevolence [and] where human relationships are based on the ideal of universal brotherhood." These "common hopes and aspirations which led to the creation of Pakistan and which still inspire[d] the lives of the people" were believed to be the basis for "cultivating a sense of unity and nationhood." Therefore, the "moral and spiritual values of Islam combined with freedom, integrity and strength of Pakistan should be the ideology which inspires the educational system" (ibid., pp. 10-11).

The Commission also noted that Pakistan had failed to make "technological progress" because insufficient attention had been paid to the training of scientific personnel and vocationally skilled workers. It cited the need for training a "leadership group in engineering, the skills of government and commercial development [who] should possess imagination, high professional ability and determination," and the development of "vocational abilities" through the opening of "vocational and technical schools" to produce the people needed as labor for production (ibid., pp. 11-12, 118).

While technological progress was important, the commission noted that arising from the Islamic principles of justice and human brotherhood, was the responsibility to create a "social welfare state." They realized that the standard of living of the common people of Pakistan was "amongst the lowest level in the world." Given limited resources,

the Commission felt it had to choose between the two competing needs. It chose to develop "quality...at the higher levels of education and deferred the provision of 'universal education'."

The choice, I believe, was due to a number of factors: (i) the belief that technological progress would result in economic development and subsequently to the creation of a social welfare state, and that, the economic benefits would 'trickle down' to the poor; (ii) the belief that the socioeconomic growth and development of the developed countries had come about because they had paid special attention to the training of scientific personnel, technicians and vocationally skilled workers; and (iii) these beliefs were greatly influenced by the large number of educators from the United States of America, consultants from the Ford Foundation and UNESCO personnel advising the government.

The changes that resulted from the policy were: (1) The development of two education systems, one for leaders and one for workers. Unlike the 1947 policy, this policy claims that education is not a right but a commodity and the people "must rapidly set aside the erroneous belief that education can be had on the cheap." In education, like other commodities in a capitalist system "one receives largely what one pays for." (2) Education should be a vehicle for inculcating in the two groups of students' different skills and dispositions. Education focused on developing leaders should be "concerned with the formation and development of character as well as with the acquisition of knowledge." Education with a technical/vocational focus should be geared to preparing a large skilled labor force. (3) As education is to serve the preparation of a differentiated work force, education should not be seen as the preparation for university. Each stage should be seen as a terminal stage. Pakistan's education system has thus come to represent a pyramid, with educational institutions and opportunities decreasing at each higher stage. (4) An emphasis on tertiary education at the expense of compulsory and free primary education, has led to Pakistan becoming one of the most illiterate nations in the world today.

Many changes were made to the curriculum in keeping with the government's focus on national unity and economic development. To promote national unity schools throughout the country were to have a uniform school curricula. Only government

prescribed textbooks were to be used in classes 1-12, and religious education was made compulsory from classes 1-8 and optional in classes 9-12. To promote economic development, emphasis was to be placed on science and mathematics. In order for room to be made for the additional subjects, and for science and mathematics to be given more emphasis, other subjects in the curriculum had to be sacrificed. As a result, history, geography and civics, being taught as separate subjects, were merged to become social studies and introduced throughout Pakistan in 1962. The aims of social studies were to: understand the problems facing Pakistan, become conscious of one's rights and responsibilities, act as a useful and loyal citizen, and promote patriotism and acceptance of national and cultural issues.

The New Education Policy 1972-1980

Soon after Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto came into power, the New Education Policy, 1972-1980, was announced. Like the 1959 policy, the first objective of the 1972 policy was "[e]nsuring the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan and making it a code of individual and national life" (Government of Pakistan, 1972-80, p.1). Nowhere in the entire document is the ideology specified. However, in contrasting it with objective two which reads: "building up national cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with our basic ideology through the conscious use of the educational process," and objective seven which reads: "designing curricula relevant to the nation's changing social and economic needs and compatible with our basic ideology..." (ibid., p.1) it becomes clear that in the first objective the ideology referred to is the ideology of Pakistan. This ideology does not require any explanation as it is assumed to be so pervasive that it has become saturated in one's consciousness (Apple, 1990). The "our" in objects two and seven clearly indicates the ideology being referred to is the ideology of the government in power and suggests that the ideology of the government in power is different from the ideology of Pakistan.

The aims of the education policy demonstrate the government's socialist and liberal democratic values, as they chose education for all with a view to reducing inequality across society and achieving social justice and participation of people in the

decision-making process. This can be inferred from the objectives of the policy which aimed at "[e]radicating illiteracy within the shortest possible time through universalization of elementary education and a massive adult education program," "[e]qualizing access to education through provision of special facilities for women, under-privileged groups ...in all areas in general and backward areas in particular," "[m]obilizing the youth for leadership roles through participation in programs of social service..." and "[e]nsuring active participation of teachers, students and representative of parents...in educational affairs (ibid., pp.1-2). To achieve these objectives the government chose two strategies: nationalization of "all privately-managed schools and colleges" and "active participation" of unemployed persons, retired civil servants and ex-servicemen in the "National Literacy Corps" and youth in the "National Service Corps" to ensure people's participation, and to provide the additional teachers required for the universalization of elementary education (ibid. pp. 6, 35). The government, recognizing its vision could not be realized without a strong economy, emphasized agro-technical education. However, in keeping with its ideology, "options for transfer from one course of study to another" were to be kept open. It is clear from the above that a more just and egalitarian world-view influenced the framing of the 1972 education policy.

The most radical and important change in the education system was the nationalization of all private schools and colleges. Unlike the 1959 policy, education was not a commodity to be bought. It was a right of all and basic education was deemed essential to the nations' progress. To achieve universalization of elementary education, more schools were to be built, existing schools were to be used to the maximum (two shifts), teachers were to be trained through increasing capacity of the teacher training institutes, and colleges were to teach education as a subject. To spread basic and adult education, all conventional means were to be used, and non-conventional methods, like the TV and radio, were to be developed to serve the cause of literacy.

Because education was to be used as the state's ideological apparatus, (objective two) it required the preparation of a national curriculum. Therefore, the National Curriculum Board (NCB) was to be strengthened and Provincial Bureaus of Curriculum were to be established or developed. A complete revision of the curriculum was to be

undertaken and textbooks prepared to eliminate overloading; to ensure they contained nothing inconsistent with the values of Islam; to emphasize the learning of concepts and skills; and to encourage exploration, experimentation, practical work and creative expression. A National Book foundation was to be established to make reading materials easily and inexpensively available, and to counter the "rising tide of foreign propaganda." Examinations were to be replaced by cumulative records of student progress, and it was proposed that no repetition of classes be allowed up to grade nine. The policy framed in the aftermath of the secession of East Pakistan from West Pakistan in which ethnicity had played a role, called for social studies to be replaced by Pakistan studies in classes 9 and 10, to develop in students a love for the country, and to build national cohesion.

Unlike the 1959 policy, which tried to suppress ethnic identities to build a national identity, the 1972 policy felt the need for people to understand the language, literature, customs and attitudes of the other regions, and proposed the language departments in universities become Pakistan Study Centres, and that a National Institute of Pakistan Studies be established in Islamabad.

National Education Policy and Implementation Program 1979

The education system radically changed direction once again with the announcement of the 1979 policy by the Martial Law government of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. The aims for education in this policy were to: "foster in the hearts and minds of the people in general and students in particular a deep and abiding loyalty to Islam and Pakistan," to "contribute towards the welfare of fellow Muslims...and help to spread the message of Islam throughout the world," "to be fully conversant with the Pakistan Movement, its ideological foundations, history and culture...so that they feel proud of their heritage and display firm faith in the future of the country as an Islamic State" and "to develop and inculcate in accordance with the Qur'an and Sunnah, the character, conduct and motivation expected of a true Muslim." It also aimed to develop fully "each individuals potentialities" as well as each one's "creative and innovative faculties" and to promote scientific, technical and vocational education to "ensure a self-reliant and secure future for the nation" (Government of Pakistan, 1979, pp. 1-2).

As can be seen from the aims, Islamization -- the functioning ideology of the ruling elite -- was to dominate every sector of society, including the education system. Nowhere in the policy is the character and conduct of a true Muslim, or the Islamic values that were to guide the education system mentioned. Because Pakistan is a Muslim country, the assumption has been made that the ideology is part of the people's consciousness (Apple, 1990). Kazi (1991) points out the important need to make these values explicit, given the contradictory definitions of Islam among various sociocultural groups in Pakistan.

The government's belief that Islamization could prevent the decline of the sociopolitical fabric of Pakistani society and create a new society built on the Islamic tenets led to a proposed merging of the "*Madrassah* and *Darul Uloom*" (religious schools) where students study "the *Quran*, *hadith* (tradition, conveying a saying or action of Muhammad) and *tafsir* (interpretation of the *Qur'an*)" with the "modern school, college and university," so as to promote the holistic development of the human personality (ibid. p. 2). Emphasizing national unity rather than pluralism, as the 1972 policy did, this policy called for another radical change. It proposed that the national language Urdu become the medium of instruction in all Matric schools.

Keeping with the focus on the Islamization of education and promotion of national unity, the "highest priority" was given to the revision of curricula so that "Islamic ideology permeates the thinking of the younger generation," and they would refashion society according to Islamic tenets (ibid. p.2). Separate "institutions" and "curricula" was prepared for female education related to the distinctive role assigned women in Islamic society (ibid. p.3). Given the new emphasis on Islam in the curricula, only teachers with a full commitment to the ideology were to be employed. All others were to undergo in-service training. Islamiyat and Pakistan studies, which up to now had been compulsory to class 10, were made compulsory at the undergraduate level. For the first time, a chapter entitled, "Education of the Citizen" was added to the policy document. Recognizing that all citizens required to be educated for citizenship, the policy proposed to use the media to "impart the teachings of Islam," to prepare people for a clean, purposeful and productive life, and as a basis for national unity and integration. The media would

"correctly depict the genesis of Pakistan and the glorious history of Islam," expose the people to modern advances in science and technology, keep the people informed of the problems and issues facing the nation, and motivate them to work for national reconstruction. The rationale for citizenship education of the masses was to provide information for "intellectual interaction and rational analysis" to overcome the "emotionally charged or ...indifferen[t] attitude" of the people due to their ignorance (ibid. pp. 30-31).

National Education Policy 1992 and 1998

The 1992 and 1998 education policies were announced by the Nawaz Sharief government in its first and second term in office. The objectives of the 1992 policy draw on, and further develop the aims of the previous three education policies. Like the 1959 policy, the 1992 policy focus is the economic development of the country through "redesign[ing] and expand[ing] technical, vocational and engineering education facilities in light of new emerging technologies needed for industry" and "intensifying research activity in the universities especially in the fields of science and technology." The 1992 policy is similar to the 1972 policy as it aims "to promote an academic and democratic culture in institutions of higher education" and "ensure community participation in educational affairs." The 1992 policy, like the 1979 policy, wants students to "understand the Islamic world view," "and contribute to the social and economic development of the country and the *Ummah*." It seeks to do this through a dialectical process of drawing from the best of the Islamic tradition and from the modern world to restructure the education system and create a "forward looking and enlightened Muslim society." In keeping with all the previous policies, the 1992 policy also seeks the "universalization of primary education," pays special attention to "literacy and female education," and ensures education is "in accordance with the principles of Islam." Unlike any before, the 1992 policy aims to "encourage and involve the private sector" in the development of the education system, and seeks to improve the status of teachers by developing in them a sense of responsibility and professionalism. The policy tries to, "create in pupils a

capacity for self-learning and self-reliance" so they can continue as life long learners, and "to obviate ethnic prejudices, discourage consumerism, fanaticism and sectarianism."

To meet these objectives, the 1992 policy proposes: (i) involving the private sector in education through opening non-formal education to non-governmental organizations, improving the corporate life of the student and depoliticizing the campuses, attracting private finance for all levels of education, encouraging progressive privatization of public sector universities and promoting education industry in the private sector; (ii) establishing two school systems --the academic high school and the vocational high school -- and the use of merit for selection; (iii) that the curriculum be developed by professionals, allowing the production of textbooks in the private sector, and sought a qualitative improvement in the classroom with an emphasis on self-learning, working in a cooperative spirit, infusing a spirit of inquiry and questioning to provide for self-analysis and critical examination of the system; and (iv) that the curriculum of all teacher training programs be improved to increase teachers academic and professional knowledge and skills, because the teacher is the most critical factor in the entire education system.

The 1992 policy, unlike any other policy, included a chapter entitled "Development of Social Sciences." The chapter pointed out that the development of the natural sciences had preceded the development of the social sciences and that the rapid pace of social change required emphasis on developing the social sciences. The policy noted that the development of the social sciences must differ from that in the West because in the West it was guided by materialistic aims alone but in Pakistan it must be guided by spiritual and material aims. The policy called for developing curricula, teaching and research so that social scientists could propose ways to solve the social problems of "national identity, poverty, economic structures, morality, ethics, freedom of intellectual thought [and] social justice."

The emphasis on the development of the social sciences and the revolutionary changes proposed for curriculum development and implementation, to teaching and learning and classroom environment could open the possibilities for social studies education for democratic citizenship hitherto unforeseen. The emphasis on education as an industry and the proposals for the establishment of two school systems beg the

questions: how would the social sciences obviate social problems if the education system is to create them by being unegalitarian? How would making education a business result in universalization of primary education and increase literacy especially female literacy?

The aims and objectives of the 1998 policy make a few additions and subtractions to the 1992 policy. The 1998 policy recognized that the present education system neither "enhances employment opportunities" nor makes society more "humanistic and egalitarian." Therefore the policy's aim is to make the "education system compatible with the demands of economic activity and lead to an egalitarian Muslim society." To achieve both these aims it proposed a move away from education that seeks to "perpetuate tradition" to education as a "change agent." In making this radical shift, the document makes it clear that there is no intention to undermine "Islamic values but to sharpen its philosophical concerns to fulfill...future needs." In keeping with the need for education to be a change agent, the policy calls for the "democratization of education" by allowing freedom of thought and expression and changing from an emphasis on "what to know" to "how to know." With the change in teaching and learning the policy hoped it would "prepare students both for further studies and for employment, mostly self employment" and to deal with the emerging, complex and uncertain future. (Government of Pakistan, 1998b, pp.7-12, 61-71). The 1998 policy does not include the chapter on the development of the social sciences based on Islam included in the 1992 policy. The policy makes an effort to move away from the emphasis on fundamentalist Islam and to Islam for social reconstruction and egalitarianism. A thorough reading of the policy indicates that a technocratic/capitalist ideology undergirds the policy.

ANALYSIS OF THE 1973 SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM AND SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

The ideology of the ruling class enters the classroom through the prescribed curriculum. As Apple (1993, 1996, 1999) argues, the curriculum is part of a "selective" process in which the selections of some groups get legitimated and becomes what he calls "official knowledge." Each education policy discussed above has been translated into curriculum for use in social studies classrooms. In 1973, in keeping with the desire of the

Z. A. Bhutto government to make conscious use of education as the state's ideological apparatus, a national curriculum for social studies education was prepared and textbooks were written based on the curriculum. Following the 1979 policy, a new curriculum was not written but changes were made in the existing curriculum and textbooks to make them "more representative in terms of ideological requirements as also to remove gaps, overlapping, over-loading and repetition" (Government of Pakistan, 1984, Preface). Following the 1992 education policy, a new curriculum has been developed for primary classes. The content of the social studies curriculum of 1973 was found to be suitable and in keeping with policy directives, but "a new approach/modifications in writing of textbooks and delivery system" was proposed (Government of Pakistan, 1995, p. 139). Because of this history, the 1973 curriculum document is being analyzed as well as the textbooks currently used in social studies classrooms to reveal what and whose knowledge is the official knowledge in social studies classrooms in Pakistan.

The 1973 curriculum document states that, like most countries in the world, the purpose of teaching social studies in Pakistan is citizenship education. What does citizenship education mean in Pakistan? In the 1973 curriculum document, the stated aim is "to understand the factors influencing one's social life and to act as an effective citizen for the betterment of society" (Government of Pakistan, 1973, p. 3). The vision for a better society, as envisaged in the document, is "an ideal social system" based on the "Islamic values of economic equality and social justice" and an appreciation and "loyal[ty] to democratic values" (ibid., pp. 3, 4). While calling for students to be prepared to act to create a better society, the aims also call for "foster[ing] an unflinching love for Pakistan," "understand[ing] and foster[ing] love for Islamic culture," "an appreciation and transmission of the cultural heritage of Pakistan," and "an acquaintance with the teachings of Islam and achievements of the great personalities of Pakistan." Thus we see in the very aims for social studies, a tension between socializing students into the existing social, economic and cultural patterns in society and of preparing them to transform society to make it more just and equitable. This section will address the questions: What kind of citizen does the curriculum/textbook aim to develop? How does the curriculum/textbook seek to achieve its aims? What positions do the curriculum/textbook

encourage students and teachers to take up? Before attempting to answer these questions, a brief description of the form of the curriculum document is presented.

The Form of the 1973 Curriculum Document

A brief history of the development of social studies education in Pakistan is followed by a list of the aims divided into specific affective, cognitive and psychomotor objectives. Each page following the aims has a topic, for example, climate or the people of the sub-continent before the advent of Islam. Below these topics, in a grid are further specified cognitive, affective and psychomotor objectives as well as the concepts, contents, activities, methodology and evaluation methods to be used to teach the topic to realize the objectives (Appendix B). The detailed specification of objectives follows Tyler (1949), who assumes it is possible to pre-specify objectives into specific outcomes, and that there is a direct relationship between the specification of objectives and selection of appropriate content and activities (Lovet and Smith, 1995). Having specified the objectives and selected the appropriate content and activities, the curriculum aims are translated into textbooks. Each topic is developed to become a chapter in the textbook, and eight to ten topics will form the textbook for each class.

The subject of social studies has been used to indoctrinate students into the worldview of the government in power and, through students, to the nation (Aziz, 1992; Hoodbhoy and Nayyar, 1985; Kazi, 1991). In Pakistan this is easily accomplished because curriculum development is centralized. The National Bureau of Curriculum (NBC) prepares the national curriculum and the Provincial Bureaus control textbook writing and publishing. Textbook writers are required to closely follow the outline given in the national curriculum. All Matric schools are legally bound to use only these textbooks, as exemplified by a circular sent by the Sindh Text Book Board to all heads of schools, to ensure that only textbooks prepared and published under their authority be purchased and used in the classroom (Sindh Text Book Board, 1986-87). The centralization of the curriculum development process has restricted participation largely to bureaucrats in the NBC. As a result, curriculum reform has been restricted to minor

modifications in the existing national curriculum but more noticeable changes have been made in the textbooks in keeping with the ideology of the government in power.

The social studies textbooks used in Pakistani classrooms today are based on the 1973 national curriculum. In 1979, following Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization of education, textbooks were adapted by the addition or deletion of a section, rewriting of an existing section or, in some cases, the addition of a new chapter to reflect the government's ideology. The transition to democracy in 1988 resulted in further cutting and pasting to remove or add content pertaining to the ideology of the government currently in power. The changes have resulted in textbooks sending contradictory messages to the students and thereby to the nation. Analysis of the textbooks reveals that these contradictory messages give rise to conceptions of citizenship that vary considerably and suggest radically different teaching and assessment practices.

In the following section the conceptions of citizenship education in Pakistani social studies textbooks are presented by stating the aim(s),which suggest a conception of citizenship, followed by the content included in the textbook to realize the aim(s).

What Knowledge is of Most Worth?

Citizenship Education: Developing Patriotic Pakistanis

Aim: "To foster unflinching love for Pakistan, to understand the factors responsible for its birth, to feel proud of being Pakistani. To understand the position of Pakistan in the committee of nations and Islamic countries in particular" (Government of Pakistan, 1973, p. 3).

In Pakistan, social studies is not only expected to teach students about their country but to develop a sense of national identity and make students unquestioningly proud of it. This task has been especially difficult considering that when Pakistan came into being, it had no history. At the same time, the ethnic nationalities which composed Pakistan had long histories (Kazi, 1991). In Pakistan, efforts to build a nation out of these different ethnic nations has taken the form of linguistic, religious and educational standardization (Tilly, 1975 quoted in Oommen 1997, p. 136). To achieve this aim, the curriculum includes knowledge about Pakistan. This knowledge included its ideology,

which is the "teachings of Islam...[and] Islamic values of economic equality and social justice"; its history, especially the movement for Pakistan's independence, important Islamic personalities and personalities of the Pakistan movement; and its importance in the world.

As they attempt to establish a single national identity, the texts turn to Islam. They state that the people are "closely bound together through the common bond of Islam" (Sindh Text Book Board [STBB], Bk. 9and10, p. 158). In discussing Islamic cultural heritage, the textbook uses the word "our." The texts always refer to Prophet Muhammad as "Our Holy Prophet" and to Islam as "our state religion." To develop both love for Pakistan and Islam, synonymous in textbooks since 1979, the textbooks set out to create hatred of India and Hindus by offering negative descriptions of Hinduism and Indian culture, by claiming Muslim rule over Hindus eliminated evil religious beliefs and practices, in Hinduism and by describing the Indian National Congress' resistance to the creation of Pakistan and India's evil designs on Pakistan as evident in the wars fought since independence. These statements can be found in a chapter of the class five textbook entitled Our Country. It reads, "Muslims believe in One God...Associating anything or person with God is considered to be 'Shirk', a great sin. The Hindus believe in many gods and worship deities..." (p. 1) and later under a subheading "the evil intentions of India" it reads, "Although Pakistan had come into being through the efforts of the Muslims yet the Hindus did not accept it willingly. They harbored evil designs against Pakistan" (p. 4-5). In reality, however, Islam has proven to be an irrelevant variable in maintaining the unity of the Muslims of Pakistan. The secession of Muslim East Pakistan from what is now Pakistan was mainly based on territory and language. Even today the co-religionists, Urdu-speaking *Muhajirs* (refugees from India) are not accepted and denied native status (Ahmed, 1998; Oommen, 1997).

In the state's attempt to integrate and homogenize the different ethnic nations in its territory into a common people it has tried to prevent the use of the mother tongue and demonstrate that the cultures of all the nations are similar. In Pakistan, this has resulted in struggles by the different ethnic nationalities for a recognition of their language and in 1973 to constitutional status for provincial languages as the medium of instruction in

schools and for administration purposes. While conceding linguistic pluralism, the texts quickly point to the need for a national language to facilitate communication between the different cultural groups. The national language, the textbooks claim, serves to unify Pakistanis into one nation whose peoples' "way of thinking and values are alike." With regard to other cultural variables the texts only acknowledge "slight difference[s] in the customs, traditions and ways of living in our provinces" but stresses "a common culture is gradually emerging....[and] common understanding and national identity is becoming stronger" (STBB, Bk. 9and10, pp. 156-157).

Now that "[t]he people of Pakistan have their own national identity" -- which means their own country, own flag, own national anthem, own religion and share the same history, eat the same food, speak the same language (Oxford University Press [OUP], Bk. 3, p. 19) -- the "obligation of each citizen is to be loyal to the country" and citizens are told to "detest from working against the national interests" and to be "ready to sacrifice his life and property for national defense" (STBB, Bk. 6, pp. 106-107). Patriotism is not to be confined to the state but must extend to the government as well. Students are taught that anyone who questions the government on issues of national importance is a "paid agent, enemies of the country and people of doubtful character" and as responsible citizens it is "our duty to see that no rumours...are spread." Should they be spread students are warned "[n]ever [to] believe anything spread against the country, government or the nation" (STBB, Bk. 5, pp. 56-57).

Citizenship Education: Cultural Transmission

Aim: "To understand and foster love for Islamic culture. To work for national cohesion and cultural harmony" (Government of Pakistan, 1973, p. 3).

Cultural transmission suggests that an essential way of socializing students into their culture is through passing on the ideas and accomplishments of influential people in their history and the cultures that have influenced their society the most. In the case of Pakistan these important personalities are the prophets from Adam to Muhammad and people whose ideas and actions won for us independence. The cultural heritage of Pakistan comes from Islamic culture from the seventh century to present times and the

culture of the region that now comprises Pakistan which includes the ancient civilizations of Moen-jo-Daro and Harappa, the Sultanate of Delhi and the Mughal Empire. Having been part of the Indian subcontinent, Pakistanis share their cultural heritage with India and have picked up some facets of culture seen to derive from Hinduism. The texts therefore draw contrasts between Hindu and Muslim culture to show the superiority of Muslim culture.

Students are exposed to ideas and actions of influential personalities of their history so that they may come to accept and eventually act upon them. For example, presenting the ideas of Prophet Muhammad, his last sermon which speaks to equality among people is often quoted, "No non-Arab is superior to an Arab, no Arab to a non-Arab, none of reddish complexion to one of blackish complexion except by piety....Be afraid of Allah when dealing with women. You have a right over women and the women over you" (STBB, Bk. 7, pp. 17-18). And in talking about the role of Jinnah in the making of Pakistan, texts state, "Due to his devotion, sincerity, hard work, selfless efforts and ability, he succeeded and got a separate homeland for the Muslims...It was due to his struggle, sagacity and strong will power that by the grace of Allah, Pakistan came into being" (GABA, Bk. pp. 6, 106).

Cultural beliefs regarding women are also transmitted through the textbook. Textbook writers list the rights granted women in Islam. "Islam granted [women] the status of a respected and respectable member of the family...made them shareholder in the property of their fathers and husbands. They were bestowed the right of acquiring temporal and spiritual knowledge" (STBB, Bk. 7, pp. 19-20). But they neither challenge the gap between the rights women were given by Islam in the seventh century and their position today in Pakistani society where female literacy is 24%. Nor do they question the oppression women face in patriarchal relations within family and society. Instead, women's exclusion from society is mirrored by their virtual excisement in textbooks. When they are mentioned it is in stereotypical roles "household lady" and described as "caring" and "helpful." These stereotypical behaviors are then used as a way of blaming women for various social problems.

Because women are supposed to be caring, their carelessness in nursing their children rather than lack of pre and antenatal care is blamed for the high infant mortality rate. Women are seen as callous for abandoning babies born out of wedlock, although giving birth in this state is the cause of ostracism and even death. When women go out to work, it is to stereotypical jobs such as teachers and nurses or because there is a need. A text reads, "More people are required in this activity. That is why women work side-by-side with men on fields. It is a fact that women get less return for their labour...agriculture will be badly affected if they do not share the burden of men" (STBB, Bk. 4, p. 38). The last two sentences raise questions, such as: Why can women work side-by-side with men in need but not out of choice? Why do women get paid less than men for the same work? None of these questions are addressed by the writer.

In the production and legitimization of this knowledge culture is reified and the status quo maintained. The feudal system, the domination of males over females, respect for elders and by extension respect for all authority is reinforced.

Citizen Education: The Good Muslim is a Good Citizen

Aim: "To understand the duties and responsibilities of home, school, community and the government and to help them in establishing an ideal social system based on the teachings of Islam." To acquire "[k]nowledge of the duties towards Allah, the Almighty. Knowledge of the duties towards fellow human-beings" (Government of Pakistan, 1973, pp. 3, 4).

In all societies the education of the very young is a socialization process through which children learn how to behave, what to believe and what to respect. In other words, everything they need to know to live in society. In democratic societies as students grow they are encouraged to think independently and critically and to question the beliefs they have come to accept on faith. They are counter socialized. However, in autocratic societies the socialization process is continued throughout life by prescribing the content of education and control and censorship of media (Engle and Ochoa, 1988). In Pakistan the approach to teaching citizenship in the entire social studies curriculum is on socializing students into society by making them good Muslims and, by extension, good

citizens. Students are socialized into Pakistani society by learning appropriate behaviors from the important personalities in Islam and the Pakistan movement, as well as learning about their rights and responsibilities as good Muslims from the way of life of the Prophet, the righteous caliphs and reformers of Islamic society. They also learn to become good citizens by learning the rights and responsibilities outlined in the constitution.

In teaching students to become good Muslims and, by extension, good citizens, the textbooks focus on pietistic and ritualistic Islam. The hope is that, in following the rituals, they will attain a society like the one in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Students learn: "Worship only one Allah. Respect your parents, be polite to your elders and treat the younger with love and kindness. Behave nicely with your neighbors" (STBB, Bk. 3, p. 61). They learn that the best way to become a good Muslim is by prayer, fasting, giving alms, simple living, filial piety and elderly esteem.

Writing about prayer, the author notes, "The Holy Prophet (May the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him) said that performance of prayer is obligatory on every Muslim. The prayers help one become duteous and honest. Prayers are instrumental in strengthening the bonds of Muslim Unity and enable Muslims to resolve their economic, social and political problems by mutual interaction" (STBB, Bk. 9and10, p. 4). Even in discussions of reformers, those who leaned towards making Muslims more pious are emphasized. The revolutionary nature of Islam -- its preferential option for the poor, in its commands regarding justice, and its insistence that one put up resistance to tyranny -- are left out. In the same way reformers who worked to reconstruct Islam in light of sociopolitical and economic realities facing Muslims in the modern times (for example, Shah Wali Ullah, Syed Ahmed Khan and Muhammad Iqbal came from the Indian subcontinent and the last two played significant roles in the reawakening of the Muslims of South Asia and in the creation of Pakistan) are ignored. Iqbal, for example, is venerated as the person who first thought of Pakistan; but his ideas on the reconstruction of Islam as recorded in his book, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* are absent.

Citizenship Education: Democratic Citizenship

Aim: "To understand the factors influencing one's social life and act as an effective citizen for the betterment of society." To develop a "loyal[ty] to democratic values" (Government of Pakistan, 1973, pp. 3, 4).

Birth bestows citizenship and education must prepare people to become citizens. To become citizens in a democracy requires that children learn a body of knowledge, skills and values. However many educators today feel acquiring knowledge and skills is insufficient and believe that students do not really understand what citizenship means until they become actively involved in community service (Davis, 1996; Ross, 1998; Wade, 1994; Wade and Saxe, 1996) in local and national politics (Apple, 1999; Newmann, 1975; Parker and Kaltsounis, 1986; Print,1996; Wade and Saxe, 1996) or engage in social action that seeks to precipitate major social and institutional change (Apple, 1999; Giroux, 1988; Kahne and Westheimer, 1996; Lewis, 1991; Wade and Saxe, 1996). In the Pakistani curriculum the emphasis is on knowledge about Pakistan's constitution and how state, national and local governments are organized; the historical and Islamic foundations of the Pakistani political system; the rights and duties of citizens; Pakistan's efforts to become a welfare state; the relationship of Pakistan to other nations and the functions of major international organizations. Neither the intellectual skills of understanding, taking and defending positions on issues, nor the participatory skills of becoming involved in the political process or community service are developed. While values of service to the person are dealt with, values useful for public life -- such as civic mindedness, critical consciousness and willingness to negotiate -- are not developed.

Pakistanis lived under military rule for eleven years, during which the dictator, attempting to legitimize his rule, sought sanction in Islam. When democracy was restored, a case for democracy had to be made. This was done in four ways. First, textbooks demonstrated that democracy not dictatorship has sanction in Islam. "The Holy Qur'an and Sunnah make it an obligation on Muslims to resort to consultation and advice. Democracy is the other name of advice and consultative decision-making" and notes that the leader must command "the respect of the majority of Muslims" (STBB, Bk. 9and10, p. 219). Second, Muslims are democratic. Muslims "believe that all people are equal in

the eyes of Allah" (OUP, Bk. 4, p. 47). Third, the leaders who founded Pakistan envisaged it as a democracy. "The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on many occasions had declared that Pakistan would be a democratic state where the 'will' of the people would reign supreme" (GABA, Bk. 6, p. 109). Fourth, constitutionally Pakistan was named a democracy. "The official name of our country is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It means that Islamic principles shall be supreme in this country and the system of government would be democratic" (STBB, Bk. 5, p. 69).

What do the texts teach about democracy? Most social studies texts begin with a simplistic definition of democracy "[d]emocracy means rule by the people" and quickly move to point out that it is impossible for everyone to rule "[t]hat is why we have a government which consists of people elected to rule the country" (OUP, Bk. 4, p. 61). They go on to explain the electoral process and to note that "Democracy is a form of government in which power remains in the hands of the representatives of the people" (STBB, Bk. 5, p. 69). While it is generally believed that, in a democracy power is given to the elected representatives by the ultimate controllers of power (the people), which they use during elections, students in Pakistan learn that not the people but their representatives wield power. Most of the content of the textbooks concentrates on factual descriptions of the structure and functions of the government and state institutions. The absence of the institution of the military from this description is noteworthy.

Besides the organization and functioning of the state and government, the texts discuss the organization of civil society and civil rights as well as efforts of the government towards giving people social rights. Here, too, emphasis is on factual description of the structure and functions of the civil bureaucracy. Texts also discuss the rights and duties of citizens. A few rights that accrue to citizens in Pakistan are mentioned, but each controlled by limitations that are so stringent that one wonders if citizens do actually have rights. For example, "Every citizen has the right to enjoy the freedom of speech and writing...No one has the right to express such views as may lead to commotion or...which is against the country or which may lead to a civil riot" (STBB, Bk. 6, p. 104). The duties of citizens listed are: respect for the law, loyalty to the country, pay taxes, exhibit tolerance and care for the rights of others (GABA, Bk. 6). With regard to

social rights, texts list the social problems facing Pakistan, note the work the government is doing to deal with them and the social welfare work done by "kind-hearted and philanthropic people" (STBB, Bk. 6, p. 107).

Osborne (1997) states that, beginning with Aristotle, citizenship carries the assumption of political activity. This notion of citizenship is especially important for democratic societies for it indicates that besides formal political institutions it requires citizen participation in civil society. No mention is made of the unions and associations in which citizens participate and practice democratic skills of holding office, dealing with disagreement, exercising tolerance and so on. Instead, texts lay great stress on individual agency. "Since you can read and write, you can help reduce literacy by teaching others...you can keep your environment clean" (OUP, Bk. 3, p. 18; Bk. 5, p. 90), "during vacations or free hours they can undertake such national duties as providing adult education or help in the task of the Red Crescent" (STBB, Bk. 6, p. 106).

In all the texts I could find only two references, one to "cooperative societies" and the other to "local self-government" to indicate the work done by citizens collectively to solve common problems. Citizens in Pakistan acquire knowledge about democracy but do not practice being democratic. Neither the intellectual skills nor the participatory skills required are addressed. If students are tested on their knowledge of democracy they would pass with flying colors; but, as the Pakistani context indicates, they fail miserably in the practice of democratic citizenship.

Citizenship Education: National Development

Aim: "To understand and adapt to one's environment and to use it for the benefit of the nation and himself." "To understand the scientific and technical needs of Pakistan and to take part in its development to one's capacity" (Government of Pakistan, 1973, p. 3).

Pakistan is a developing country faced with problems of illiteracy, poverty and unemployment. Being a predominantly agricultural country Pakistan is concerned with the growing menace of waterlogging and salinity. More recently Pakistan faces social problems of drugs, crime, ethnic and sectarian violence. The government feels it is important for its citizens to understand the complex problems facing it and work towards

their eradication and Pakistan's development. The curriculum, therefore, includes a study of the land of Pakistan -- its natural resources; its people and the work they do; its trade with the world; its problems and efforts towards their solution.

Most of this curriculum is focused on providing factual information, the name, place, amount of minerals extracted or items exported and so on. Interspersed between all these facts are instructions to citizens "to take full advantage of our resources," "to plant more trees," "to keep the country neat and clean" and maintain its natural beauty so as to attract tourists for the tourism industry. In providing information about problems, governments do not want to appear incapable of dealing with the problems or to show the real magnitude of the problem; therefore, the dream is often made to appear almost realizable. As a result, while Pakistani face loadshedding on nearly a daily basis, students learn, "Pakistan is becoming self-sufficient in energy resources. It would stop importing coal and oil soon" (STBB, Bk. 5, p. 39).

In other cases the textbook lies, it leaves out important facts and sometimes instead of lying about some of the issues it just does not tell the truth, as in the case with reasons why a census was not conducted. "Census was due in the year 1991 but could not be held due to certain unavoidable reasons" (ibid., p. 47). While the aim is for citizens to participate in national development no where are citizens told what is the vision for Pakistani society, where and how as citizens they can actively participate in efforts to realize the vision, what efforts are already being made by the variety of nongovernmental organizations working in various fields, and so on. Instead, everywhere students are told how the government is dealing with the problems and the efforts they are making despite the heavy odds of lack of resources. Students learn that all that is required of them is to do the best for themselves as individuals and the government will take care of all concerns that affect them as a community.

Whose Knowledge is of Most Worth?

The above deals with the question of what knowledge is of most worth, it shows how from the huge collection of knowledge "out there" what knowledge has become "official knowledge." This is not preordained but the result of struggles between

powerful groups, those with privileged cultural and economic capital (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991; Apple, 1993, 1996, 1999). One powerful group is clearly the government in power because the curriculum is based on the education policy of the government in power and prepared by civil bureaucrats who are government servants. Textbooks are written by university professors or teachers, both of whom are government servants. The textbooks have to be approved by the Federal Ministry of Education and are published by the Provincial Curriculum Bureaus. The curriculum is very prescriptive in terms of form, content, and ideology so that government and privately published textbooks are almost similar. Private publishers also follow the curriculum closely so that their textbooks are marketable as they are aware that students who write answers in examinations that differ from the textbook are likely to fail.

The feudal lords and tribal leaders have wielded immense power because they have been part of both democratic and military governments since the creation of Pakistan. The strong focus in the curriculum on the transmission of cultural values and norms is likely influenced by them.

The military is another interest group. Textbooks teach specific lessons while they are in power, lessons such as the general is the savior of the country, politicians are incompetent and inept at ruling, the people who elected the incompetent rulers are unfit for democracy, democracy is a Western concept which finds no sanction in Islam and the military have a "supraconstitutional right to overthrow a civilian government" and save the country (Aziz, 1992). The military is positively represented in content dealing with the wars Pakistan has fought with India but there is no mention of the debacle of the 1971 war. There is no information about the military in content that describes the structure and functions of state institutions.

Another group whose knowledge is of most worth, especially since 1979 when they ruled with General Zia-ul-Haq, are the Islamic fundamentalists. Through their influence pietistic and ritualistic Islam has made its way into the curriculum with the aim of restoring in Pakistan the Islamic society of the Muhammadan era in Medina.

As of 1992 a new power group has emerged, that of the industrialists. The importance of education as a way of transmitting the ideology of the government in

power can be seen from the fact that the same government put out two education policies in its two terms in office because their ideology had changed. For the first time, curriculum documents speak of "promoting" education industry in the private sector and "improving the corporate life of the students." The language of the market clearly indicates the ideology of the ruling elites.

Directions for Teaching and Evaluation

In the 1973 curriculum document, specific directions for teaching are given in two sections, activities and methodology. The activities suggested clearly indicate that curriculum designers think students acquire knowledge through the study of facts (to learn Tarana [National Anthem] by heart, show Muslim majority areas on the map), through observation (visits to places of historical importance, police stations), through listening (listen to talks of administrative officials, to resource persons). Occasionally the curriculum suggests students make a speech or write a letter. The activities do not call on students to interpret or to critically think about what they are learning. In the above activities the teacher is in control. S/he will propose the activity, direct students while they engage in it and decide if it has been done correctly. Teacher control is so great that s/he even has to ensure that students participate in the Friday congregational prayers.

In the 1973 curriculum document the only reference to methodology is a list of methods: activity method, narrative method, discussion method, developmental method, creative method. Nowhere in the document are these methods explained or examples given as to when and for what purpose they may be used. A positive change to the 1973 curriculum, in response to the 1979 education policy was the removal of the methodology section and its replacement by a section entitled A.V. Aids which suggested teachers use maps, historical maps, pictures, documentary films and charts. The adapted curriculum document does not inform teachers from where they can obtain these instructional resources. The need for teachers to be informed about the location of the teaching aids is of central importance because of the fact that with the exception of a few elite schools there is no provision for a TV, VCR or film projector. The 1992 education policy called for a qualitative improvement in teaching in the classroom; therefore, the primary

curriculum designed in the light of that policy has retained most of the objectives and content of the 1973 curriculum but suggests activities be based on "enquiry inside and outside the classroom," "extracting relevant information from a variety of sources," and "encouraging [students] to ask questions" (Government of Pakistan, 1995, p. 139). If teachers in social studies classrooms are to use the methods suggested then it will require use of a variety of sources of information, not just the textbook, it will require teachers be educated in the use of these methods, without these changes, teaching and learning in social studies classrooms will continue to remain the transmission of textbook knowledge from teacher to students.

Evaluation is the process of collecting, analyzing and interpreting information to make a composite judgment or decision. The 1973 curriculum document suggests information be gathered about students learning through tests of comprehension and skills and observation of behavior and skills. The suggestion that teachers observe students' attitudes and skills is good advice as it is difficult to infer attitudes and skill from written responses to questions. The education policy calls for doing away with annual examinations and, in their place, maintaining cumulative records of the "progress, aptitude and problems of the student." However, fulfilling these policy directives will be impossible because there is no mention of any assessment instruments and techniques (checklists, rating scales) that can be used to systematically gather and record information.

CONCLUSION

Pakistan has tried all kinds of political systems. Each government, in an attempt to socialize citizens into the political system it envisaged for Pakistan, has used the social studies textbooks as an ideological apparatus, seeing these texts as efficient ways to accomplish its goal. Because new textbooks have not been written since 1973 but, through a process of addition and subtraction, each government's ideology has been incorporated, the social studies texts teach a variety of conceptions of citizenship all of which prepare students to accept the status quo. The people of Pakistan have time and again demanded the institutionalization of democracy. However, democracy has failed

because Pakistanis have learnt what democracy is but have not been prepared to create and sustain a democratic society.

If Pakistan is to become a democratic country, then social studies texts, teaching and evaluation practices must serve to prepare democratic citizens. Teachers in Pakistan schools have an onerous responsibility to educate citizens to create a democratic society. This means preparing students with the knowledge, the intellectual and interpersonal skills, providing them with opportunities to participate in the kind of tasks required of democratic citizens and the courage to take actions to change the contexts that hinder democracy. The next chapter seeks to understand why the education system in Pakistan has been so resistant to responding to the needs of Pakistan society and the possibilities for making education in general and social studies in particular serve the preparation of democratic citizens.

Chapter five

EXPLORING POSSIBILITIES FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan's political history has been consistently unstable but uncannily repetitive with approximately ten years of civilian rule followed by ten years of military rule. Pakistan has recently gone through another transition in October 1999, from pseudo-democratic rule to military rule. There was no requiem but rather relief at the passing away of democracy because it resembled the form of democracy that Rousseau (1762) spoke of in his book *The Social Contract*: "The people of [Pakistan] regards itself as free; but it is grossly mistaken; it is free only during the election of members of parliament. As soon as they are elected slavery overtakes it and it is nothing" (I have taken the liberty of substituting England with Pakistan).

In Pakistan many are not even free on the day of an election because they are forced to vote or paid to vote for the local elite. The people of Pakistan believe there is more to democracy than the right to elect a government, and there is more to democratic government than the tyranny of their elected representatives. The latest transition has raised important and complex questions about what constitutes democracy. People are calling for electoral boundaries to be demarcated on the basis of the latest census and compiling new electoral rolls, on reorganizing the political system to devolve power and make it more participatory, a constitution which is more difficult to amend, strengthening the judiciary and promoting civil society. More muted are calls for land reforms to break the monopoly of the feudals and so to promote economic equality. These calls indicate that some people are aware that democracy fitted on to a class-based and hierarchical social structure will be a farce. The history of Pakistan demonstrates that Pakistan is not a democracy, but the people envision a democratic Pakistan. The need is to prepare citizens who will realize the vision.

Many educators and political scientists (Apple, 1995; Barber, 1984; Dewey, 1916; Sehr,1997) claim that education is a powerful tool which can be used to support and promote democratic forms of society. Barber (1984) states that education for democracy

can take at least three forms: formal pedagogy; private sphere social activity and participatory politics itself (p. 233). But he argues that formal pedagogy is probably the least useful for developing democracy. I believe he is right. The Pakistani education system has not been seen as a site for preparing citizens to create or develop democracy. Within the education system, citizenship education is the raison d'être of social studies. However, as argued in chapter two, citizenship education is generally conceived as the transmission of traditional values and beliefs to prepare "good citizens" who obey the law, share common cultural values and are loyal to the state. Participation of citizens in society is confined to voting in elections.

The democracy that has resulted is elitist democracy. The citizen required for true democracy must be well-informed about issues, participate in discussions about them and take actions to bring about socioeconomic and political change. If we desire a democratic society with critically informed, cooperative, and creative citizens then the education system in general and social studies education in particular must be designed and implemented to prepare citizens who will contribute to establishing democratic institutions and democratic forms of living; citizens for whom democracy becomes a way of life.

The centralized educational system in Pakistan exercises an unusually high degree of influence and control over impressionable students -- the future citizens. The education officials play a central role as they translate the views of the government in power regarding education into policy, write the curriculum, and authorize and approve the writing and publishing of textbooks. They have tremendous power in their hands because of the lack of alternative sources of information. An alternative source of information would usually be academics in universities; but, like other educational institutions, public universities are under the direct control of the government, which does not facilitate freedom of thought and expression. Another source could be informed public opinion but with government control of the media and Pakistan's high illiteracy rate, garnering informed public opinion on issues has been difficult.

The feudal system of patronage runs right through the system preventing any criticism of those in authority. In such an environment, self-censorship is common

practice. Yet another factor is the frequent changes in the government making the education officials who are state bureaucrats the only permanent feature of the system increasing their influence on educational policy making and on the content of education. For these reasons despite changes in the system of government from the socialist government of Z. A. Bhutto, to fundamentalist Islam under Zia-ul-Haq, to capitalism under Nawaz Sharief there has been little change in the structure and practices of schools.

If education in Pakistan is to shift its focus from developing patriotic citizens and strong leaders to citizens who see themselves as leaders and choose to become patriots, then education officials will have to be convinced that education in Pakistan must be at the service of educating citizens who will play this role. It was with the intention of uncovering possibilities for reconceptualizing the teaching and learning of social studies for democratic citizenship that I entered into conversations with the education officials.

The conversations with the education officials took many twists and turns, as conversations usually do. However, in re-presenting them I have chosen what is to be presented to readers. In the hermeneutical sense, I have engaged in interpretation. The result of this is not just a re-presenting, but a construction of reality (Gadamer, 1989). For as Bordo (1989) observes, in interpreting "[w]e always 'see' from points of view that are invested with our social, political and personal interests, inescapably 'centric' in one way or another, even in the desire to do justice to heterogeneity (quoted in Lather, 1991, p. 139).

In Chapter One, I have shared the social, political and personal baggage which I have brought to the study. The interests my conversation partners bring are given below.

The Participants

Aqil

Aqil is an education official in the Ministry of Education, Islamabad. He returned to Pakistan after completion of his doctorate because he "wanted to serve [his] country." On his return to Pakistan he joined the Department of Education and has been with it for the last thirty years. One day during our conversations we reached a personal level during which I learnt that Aqil had been responsible for starting a small project to educate the

children of Christian sanitary workers who lived in a slum just across the road from the elite school where his daughter studied. He said, "These are the bright spots in my career...when I retire...when I sit back and think these things will give me satisfaction."

Farman — Farman is an education official in the Ministry of Education, Islamabad. He started teaching at a university on completion of his doctorate. After teaching at the university for a number of years, he joined the ministry of education. I learned he was the youngest full professor at the university and had written over a hundred journal articles.

Mushtaq — Mushtaq is an education official in the Ministry of Education, Islamabad. He has a Masters degree. His responsibilities include curriculum development. He has been in the ministry for the last thirty years.

Mehrunissa — Mehrunissa is an education official in the Education Department, Government of Sindh. She has a Masters degree. She was a teacher for a short while and taught at the university for around ten years before taking up administrative positions. She has been with the Education Department for a few years.

Shagufta — Shagufta is the head of a nongovernmental organization (NGO) working to provide education, training and resources to other NGOs. She has a Masters degree.

The Character of the Conversational Encounters

When I came to converse with an education official. I received a warm welcome but felt apprehensive at finding his office full of men and concerned as to how our conversation would proceed. The uneasiness slowly faded as he introduced me, explained the nature of my work and the conversation began. Farman, asked for the conversational starters (Appendix C), read one and responded. A man who had a little

earlier walked in and was sitting beside me joined in the conversation. When he finished speaking I asked his name (fulfilling research protocol). I was introduced to Irfan and he was asked to join in the conversation by the official (without so much as by your leave). Our conversation was continually interrupted to answer the phone, to engage with other people entering the office, to Irfan entering the conversation to agree or challenge what was being said, so much so that at one point I had to intervene to prevent the conversation from becoming argumentative. To a question the education official suggested I read a paper he had written on the subject, the reading of which would indicate his response. As the conversation turned to social studies, he felt he was not qualified to answer and suggested I converse with another colleague.

While this official showed concern for the subject matter to which we were oriented, he did not see me as a partner in the dialogue. I, he believed, had sought his expert opinion on the subject which he gave and when he did not have the expertise directed me to "the right person."

I made appointments to converse with this education official well in advance as I was travelling from Karachi to Islamabad for the conversations. He had to leave early on the first day and was unable to keep the next appointment but suggested I call and if available we could converse. Concerned that I might not get the opportunity to converse with him I kept calling his office. When I learned he was in his office but in a meeting I decided to go to his office and wait my turn. When I arrived, even though in a meeting, he invited me in and asked me to give him a few minutes to deal with a few issues and to end the meeting. I observed his efforts to quickly bring the meeting to an end so that he could converse with me. After the meeting he told his personal assistant to hold all calls and came over to join me on the sofa. Over a cup of coffee we began our conversation. While conversing around the question he shared personal stories. Over an hour later he suggested we continue our conversation over lunch the next day and invited colleagues who he felt would further understanding of the question to join us.

This education official showed a deep concern for the subject matter to which our conversations were oriented. He asked others to join in the conversations because as he said, "I felt I may not do justice in answering your questions." He facilitated our

conversation by holding off telephone calls and visitors. A cup of coffee and a comfortable seating arrangement furthered conversation. He provided materials he thought might help in answering my questions. He made time to converse with me when I showed up at his door and he was busy in a meeting.

I had an appointment with another education official. I called her office and confirmed the appointment, but when I arrived I was told she had left to attend an emergency meeting (Not again!). On the day of our next appointment I arrived for the conversation. When I walked in the door she glared at me and asked, "Do you have an appointment?" I replied in the affirmative. She realized there had been a mix up by her personal assistant. I was kept standing in the doorway while she berated him. With what seemed great reluctance, she asked me to sit down and wait. She took her time dealing with the people scheduled to meet her, while I sat wondering if there was going to be time for our conversation. When we finally began, what occurred was more an interview than a conversation.

From the lived experience of conversations with education officials I found that conversations are facilitated when one has a genuine interest in the subject matter to which the conversation is oriented or the openness and willingness to proceed with conversation until one becomes interested in or recognizes the importance of the subject matter to one's own life and work. The conversation itself is greatly facilitated when phone calls and interruptions are kept to a minimum. They are also facilitated when participants respect and treat each other as equals, such as informing partners of one's inability to keep an appointment, engaging in conversation as one would generally do, that is, over a cup of tea and in comfortable seats rather than at the opposite ends of a huge desk.

The following section focuses on the conversations with the education officials about the possibility of creating a democratic society in Pakistan, and the education system and social studies education that will be needed to realize this vision.

PAKISTANI SOCIETY: A SOCIETY OF SAVAGE INEQUALITIES

One cannot speak generally of Pakistani society. One has to speak in terms of differences in socioeconomic status, gender, language, religion and even area of residence because one or more of these factors determines the status one has in society, the power one wields, the education one will receive, the present in which one will live and the future to which one can realistically aspire. It is in the desire to bridge this yawning gap between the privileged few and the deprived masses that the yearning for democracy fills the hearts of the people of Pakistan. Military and civilian rule, both bureaucratic and democratic, have tried to erase the desire; but, often bruised and crushed it refuses to die waiting in hope that the future will bring greater justice and equality.

The Dualistic Structure of Pakistani Society

Bernadette: I would like us to begin our conversation today by asking you to analyze Pakistani society. What are the cultural, social, political, economic issues and concerns facing it presently?

Shagufta: I believe the main characteristic of this society is its dualism. Dualism is...the co-existence of a large majority of people living in a primitive stage and time. And a small ruling minority which forms the power structure, which speaks a different language and which is as modern as the elite of the first world....When I was a student in America I was asked, 'What is the status of women in Pakistan?' I found it difficult to answer. I could think of women who were driving, who were flying airplanes, getting the best education in the world and doing the things which any women would love to do. And I could think of women who seldom left their homes,...who are the victims of domestic and societal violence...I think Pakistan is an example of that dualism.

In many Third World countries there is a gap between the rich and the poor. But in Pakistan the gaps are very wide and, unfortunately, these gaps are widening ...the gap between the two is not transitory, it is chronic. The privileged elite and the middle class are doing very little or maybe nothing to pull up the downtrodden.... The middle class usually plays a very important role in any social change process in a country. [But] the middle class in Pakistan is looking for individual solutions to collective problems....And the solution they have found is to leave the country. They are so fed up with Pakistan...They are migrating to anywhere...This country is now inhabited by people who are the real stakeholders. But they see no future. It is a sad situation in Pakistan now. (13-2-99)

Mehrunissa: I think the economic issues are the most important...every

section of society is affected by the economic situation and it is having repercussions on every sector. For example, in education we cannot implement whatever has been set down in the policies. The policies look very good, very promising on paper but, when it comes to implementing them, we cannot because of the economic crunch.

The social issues are many, but the issue I would like to highlight is the status of women. Women have been prevented from coming into the mainstream of society because of old customs and traditions. But now developments in communication and satellite technology have brought the world into our houses...people are becoming aware that it is all right for women to leave their homes to study or work. [At present] a battle is on between the traditional and progressive forces. But I think justice will be done and discrimination of women at all levels will be eliminated. The government is encouraging participation of women in society...they are opening girls schools in far flung areas of the province of Sindh...They have established a full-fledged ministry of women development, to address...the causes of discrimination against women. (29-4-99)

My conversation partners, being senior education officials, analyzed Pakistani society via the lens of education. Aqil and Farman both participated in the conversation, responding to each other. The conversation is being presented as it occurred.

Aqil: We are a Muslim society and our religion says that education is necessary from cradle to grave but the paradox is that this nation is one of the most illiterate nations in the world. How come this is happening? Is this the true spirit of Islam? Or have we mutilated the spirit of Islam?...Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in November 1947 laid out very strong foundations for education, specially basic education and literacy but nothing has happened...The first thing every government did was bring out an education policy....They made commitments, but when it came to providing the resources for education they dragged their feet. These are paradoxes really...Dr. Farman how would you respond to her question?

Aqil asked Farman to respond to my question. Farman, however, responded to what Aqil had said. He seemed to find Aqil's analysis too critical and started to rationalize.

Farman: I think the politicians wanted, and every government wanted to educate the masses because everybody knows that without education we can't progress. But the inescapable realities of our confrontation with India...and our rapidly growing population did not allow us....because of our...confrontation with India we had to allocate a lot of money for military expenditures...and we had to do so at the cost of education and the other social sectors....The other is the problem of

population explosion. Growth in education didn't match the rate at which the population grew, and continues to grow.

When listening to Farman, I couldn't help but think how it seemed as if, when reality confronts us, there is only one way of acting, a seemingly predetermined way, a way in which there are no choices. I recall Viktor Frankel's book *Man's Search For Meaning* saying that, in the degrading situation of the concentration camp, one important thing he learned was that between stimulus and response there is choice. Is not the situation in Pakistan the result of the cumulative choices successive governments have made?

Aqil, in responding to Farman, appeared to move away from his critical stance to a more conciliatory one. He adapted his strong statement about lack of political will to Farman's discourse and said, "I would tend to agree with Farman that there was the will on the part of everyone but there were reasons beyond which we just could not cope." But as the conversation proceeded it became evident that instead of outright disagreement with a colleague (not a Pakistani thing to do) he was providing arguments to indicate other ways these situations could have been dealt with.

> Aqil: ...if the two countries (Pakistan and India) could have thought more sensibly years ago on how to remove the irritants between them, this could have been a paradise...Dr. Mehboob-ul-Haq at a conference entitled 'Education for all' said, 'If both India and Pakistan stop increasing their defense budget, not reduce it, just stop increasing it and freeze it where it is, then every child would have education and quality education. Every person would be provided with healthcare and so on'. (Farman, "What...) Yes. Just not increase it. Let us hope that sense prevails on the leadership in both countries. I think we are moving in that direction. After all Pakistan and India both know their capabilities now that they have exploded nuclear bombs. Now we had better stop and invest in our human resources....
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> The population explosion has been tremendous, and so has the growth in the education sector, [But]; because of the low financial allocation to education and the internal inefficiency of the system, we are still faced with both improving the quantity and quality of education...There is a lack of infrastructure in the rural areas of each province,...the enrollment of females in schools is low.

Bernadette: ....Do you think there are any economic or cultural factors that may be responsible for the low enrollment of females in school and the high drop out rate of nearly 50% of children in primary school?

Farman: I have yet to see parents who don't want to send their children to schools...who would not like to see their children become *tehsildars* (officers in charge of small administrative units) and *thanadars* (Police Station House Officers). Everybody wants to get their children educated. Social factors are not stopping children from going to schools.

Aqil: This myth is being completely exploded. We had a small study done in all the provinces, in both the urban and rural areas. Interestingly enough it is not the culture, or the society or the parents that stop boys or girls from going to school. The reason is that schools are not interesting places to be...perhaps it's the curriculum, the textbooks might be uninteresting (Farman, "Yes. Yes."). It might be the harsh treatment of the teachers...cultural factors are less. Now had culture been the reason Ms. Dean then the mosque schools would have remained completely empty. Now...even girls study there up to class three...[The above arguments did not answer the question of concern to him] Why, in a country which is predominantly Muslim, followers of Islam which lays great emphasis on education, are the people so illiterate? (Looking at me), You know, it really seems paradoxical to me that Islam says you should receive education from cradle to grave (Farman, "Yes that's right"), it is necessary for girls and boys, men and women and still we are really far behind (laughs). So something is happening here. (6-4-99)

I will acknowledge that the practices within schools may be one of the reasons for some students dropping out of school, but another reason might be the belief of parents and students that because they are poor they will never get the jobs that may serve to take them out of their poverty. As Apple (1996) argues, "the phenomenon of the dropout is not an aberration that randomly arises in our school system. It is structurally generated, created out of the real and unequal relations of economic politics and cultured resources and power that organize...society" (p. 90). And it is the "socially constructed and historically embedded" cultural beliefs that have resulted in Pakistan's low enrollment of females in school, and of having a ratio of two schools for boys to one school for girls in the rural areas (Warwick and Reimers, 1995).

Following the analysis of the issues and concerns facing Pakistani society I turned the conversations to the question of the practice of democracy in Pakistan.

Democracy as Presently Practiced in Pakistan

> Bernadette: We have analyzed Pakistani Society.... Can we look specifically the practice of democracy in Pakistan?

Farman observed Pakistan's slow return to democracy. His analysis of the difficulty of establishing democracy in Pakistan is very insightful. He argued that there have been three reasons for the difficulty. Strong state and weak political institutions, a hierarchical and class-divided society, and the gap between the professed principles and actual behavior of the political leaders.

> Farman: The electoral competition has gained strength [and] electoral procedures have acquired stability, but the frequent dismissal of elected governments has resulted in political apathy and cynicism in the people...There has been a transition to parliamentary democracy and important democratic elements of the original 1973 constitution have been restored. The president has been reduced to the titular head of state,...[and] efforts are underway to resolve issues, such as separate electorates for minorities and lack of reserved seats for women.
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> Most of the problems that democracy faces in Pakistan stems from three factors. First, a structural imbalance in the distribution of power in the political system. This has resulted from an uneven development between the two state institutions, the military and the bureaucracy [which] are powerful and the political institutions, such as the legislatures and the political parties ...[which]...are weak....The colonial regime introduced the state institutions in the late eighteenth century in order to maintain colonial rule...huge resources were spent on them to enable them to meet any threat to its rule and maintain stability. In contrast political institutions slowly emerged in the late nineteenth century. Colonial state institutions viewed them as rival institutions aimed at curtailing their power...The state institutions continue to retain the power they enjoyed during colonial rule. Their perception of politics as an irrational, disorderly and corrupt process which needed to be curbed for security of the state remain[s] unchanged and determine[s] their attitude towards politics and democracy.
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> Second, the vertically divided and horizontally fragmented Pakistani society organized on the basis of kinship, caste, tribes and religion. As this society was dominated by...the feudals, they came to control the political institutions particularly the political parties and provincial legislatures... The class interest and ideological preferences of the feudals were in conflict with democracy....

Third, the immature behavior and attitudes of the political leaders and other powerful interests groups is yet another hindrance to the establishment of democracy. [There is a] widening gap between the actual conduct of the political leadership and the professed principles of democracy...They have to learn to uphold the rule of law,...nurture in themselves a culture of tolerance for the opponent,...[control] the growth of authoritarian tendencies on assuming power and so on. (6-4-99, 7-4-99)

Aqil's analysis is similar to Farman's as he also noted the power of the civil and military bureaucracy and the behavior of the political leaders as hindering factors.

Aqil: We have had great difficulty in establishing a democratic tradition in the country. [Firstly], two institutions, the bureaucracy and the army have played very prominent roles and this has more or less centralized power. I think this is the outcome of events and necessities of our confrontation with India...and which led to the buildup of a massive and powerful defense force... [Secondly], the democratic institutions at the grassroots level failed to put down roots...because these institutions were in existence for only a short time and under the domination of a martial law government....[Thirdly], the human tendency of people in power to want absolute power. The people who came into power, whether via the democratic process or through military coups, never wanted to give power to other people or to the masses.... (7-4-99)

Mehrunissa: During the last 50 years of Pakistan's history the country has [had]...an unstable political system...We have a democracy where democrats act like dictators. Democracy means you should respect others; you must allow others to express their views; you should listen to others...the minority, the opposition...if you think that because you are in a majority you don't have to listen to others than I think it is the worst form of democracy. It is dictatorship....Unfortunately in our country democratic institutions are not well established. They are still in the stage of infancy and the long shadow of other powerful institutions is cast over them. People are not used to living in a democracy. They are still struggling to understand how to behave when you are given freedom. We have not yet learned to respect opposing forces,...the democratic tradition that we are lacking is the tradition of tolerance, we don't have tolerance. (29-4-99)

Shagufta critiqued the model of democracy used in Pakistan. She analyzed the Indian model which is often held up as the model for Pakistan to aspire to and noted its limitations. She suggested the need for a more participatory model.

Shagufta: Democracy is not going to the polls every four years or every two years if there is instability in the country and forgetting about everything else which is required for the functioning of a democratic system. Democracy requires respect for human rights, justice, freedom of speech, freedom of choice, freedom of association. It requires good governance...Pakistan lacks all these things...In Pakistan people say democracy never had time to flourish because we had intermittent Martial law...But if we look at our neighboring country, this model is continuing for the last fifty years...But what I observe...is that the quality of the leadership emerging through this system is deteriorating ...The leaders of 30 years ago who came through this process were much better human beings in all respects than the leaders you see today. This raises a lot of questions about the model itself.

When we have democracy the only thing we do is conduct election... However, once somebody is elected...he represents the people in every respect. He is the one who decides the location of the school, the location of the hospital...The point I am trying to make is that representation is not the same as participation. For development you need participation...The participation of the communities, of the stakeholders, of those who are affected by all development decisions. This is lacking. This is lacking because the whole development scenario in Pakistan is politicized. It's the parliamentarian or senator who decides where the road should go. And, in most cases, that road is from his farm to the market. Rather than serving the needs of the community which he is representing, he serves himself and he is accountable to no one...Here funds are given to parliamentarians and senators to spend on the development of their areas (laughing). It's like reimbursing the money which they have spent on their elections.

This model of democracy has strengthened the already existing rigid social structure of society because only the moneyed class can become the representatives of the people...In Sindh and Punjab this moneyed class means the feudal lords. These feudal lords were always powerful but their power was cultural, social and economic...This model of democracy has increased their power. The whole idea of democracy is that power should be diluted, decentralized and communities should be empowered but that has not happened. Now apart from social, cultural and economic power they have political and administrative power as well. So there have been power enhancements. (13-2-99)

All the education officials envisioned Pakistan as a democratic state. There was no question about any other political system. The similarity in their analysis of Pakistan's inability to institute democracy was uncanny. Each felt that Pakistan's strong civil-military bureaucratic nexus had thwarted attempts to establish democracy by seeing political struggles as injurious to the very existence of the state. Another challenge

mentioned was the immature and self-serving behavior and attitude of the political leaders who profess democratic principles but act like dictators. Shagufta made a very important point when she argued that representative democracy in a class-divided society enhances the power of the already powerful groups.

Having analyzed the failure of the democratic system and before asking them to envision a truly democratic society, I wanted to find out whether the education officials believed democracy was viable in the cultural milieu of Pakistan.

> Bernadette: It is commonly believed that dictatorship is the best form of government for Pakistan because it ensures stability and prosperity, that democracy is a Western importation...Do you think democracy is possible in the cultural milieu of Pakistan?

In responding to my question Mehrunissa attempted to demonstrate the viability of democracy in Pakistan by pointing to the existence of traditional decision-making bodies and benevolent *Waderas* (Sindhi feudal lords). In doing so she ignored the fact that the traditional decision-making bodies were all male and that a *Wadera*, no matter how benevolent, acted like a dictator and not like a democrat.

> Mehrunissa: I disagree. If one studies the culture of all the four provinces of Pakistan one will see it is a most democratic culture. In the NWFP you have the *Jirgas* (body of elders)...a democratic institution...all the members are given an equal opportunity to express themselves before a decision is made...There are similar institutions in all the provinces of Pakistan.....Now the Sindhi *Waderas* (feudal lords) are being depicted as villains. But their tradition is a very positive one... The *Waderas* had complete control over the people's actions...they made all the decisions, but they were very sympathetic and made very just decisions. The people used to respect them and their decisions. The culture has these traditions, which certainly do not have any gist of dictatorship.... (29-4-99)

Aqil suggested increasing political democracy, but realized people would not be able to play the role envisaged unless the economic inequalities were reduced.

> Aqil: I think the army has been very strong [and] has administered the country for many years. There are people who say the country witnessed a lot of progress during the military regime of 1958-1968, but this was due to factors other than military rule...The dissatisfaction of the people with military rule [was evident] for

it was their demonstrations that caused it to fall. I believe the role of the army is to guard the borders. When it comes to governing the country it must be left to civilians and it has to be through democratic institutions...If democracy has failed once, I think more democracy should be injected...The unfortunate thing in our country is that democracy hardly starts to take root when it is taken over by authoritarian powers....For democracy to work we would have to, if not reduce, than freeze the defense budget at where it is today and allocate that money to the social sectors. Because when people are hungry or uneducated, they cannot play their role effectively in society. (7-4-99)

Farman: The people want democracy. Despite strong authoritarian tendencies, prolonged military rule [and] ethnic, social, class and religious cleavages, the passion for democracy continues to surge, political institutions continue to exist...[and] the judiciary and the press, the two main pillars of a democratic state, have consistently tried to establish their freedom, even during the days of the authoritarian regimes, and tried to contribute to the functioning and survival of democracy.... (7-4-99)

Shagufta: Democracy, in its present form, is not suitable for Pakistan. The present form of democracy means you go to the polls every four years and forget about everything else which is required for the functioning of a democratic system....There is a school of thought which believes if democracy continues for some time things will change. A different kind of leader will be elected and democratic institutions will develop....I have seen this democratic system working very closely in the rural settings. The people who are elected through this democratic system are the landed aristocracy with cultural and economic power and what the system is doing is empowering them more....I don't think this is what we want.

Bernadette: You are dissatisfied with this system. Have you thought of an alternative that would break the monopoly of power of the landed aristocracy and empower the people?

Shagufta: We need to create some space for ourselves through enhancing the role of civil society...Civil society on the one hand acts as a watch dog of what the government is doing and makes the government accountable and on the other hand looks at what is happening in the private sector and tries to save the consumers from exploitation of the private sector. Along with a strong, vibrant, active civil society I would also like to see...a system of local government. If the local government system is strengthened and if the local government constituencies are made a little smaller so people have access to their representatives and can hold their representatives accountable and at the same time if there are strong civil society organizations working in the entire country, in

the rural as well as the urban areas, then perhaps things can improve. (13-2-99, 26-3-99)

Shagufta felt the hope people had in the representative system of democracy was misplaced and suggested two viable alternatives: Local government and a strong civil society. Shagufta, like Barber (1984), seems to believe political power must come prior to economic equality.

Visioning an Alternative World

> "The desire to bring about a freer, less alienating society has inspired many actions, but the ability to imagine such a society to begin with, and then to see how it can emerge out of the present, must be there first. It is this that gives meaning to the slogan scribbled on Paris walls by the revolutionaries in May 1968 -- *Prenez vos reves pour la realite*. -- Take your dreams for reality. (Crean and Rioux, 1975, quoted in Simon 1992, p. 3)

Critiquing Pakistani society is an art practiced in the drawing rooms of Pakistan's socialite. But critique is not my project. My project is constructing a pedagogy of possibility in the service of democratic citizenship [as reconceptualized earlier]. Constructing anything requires the imagination to see it in the mind's eye and then to bring it to fruition. I asked my conversation partners to envision Pakistani society as they hoped it would be in the future. "For without a perspective on the future conceivable as a desired possible future, there can be neither human venture nor possibility" (Simon, 1992, p. 9).

> Bernadette: I've been reading a book in which Ernst Bloch speaks of dreaming... He believes day dreams are images of that which is not yet, but which can be realized. I am asking you to dream or to envision Pakistani society as you would want it to be in the future....
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> Mehrunissa: I dream of a society where there is justice. A society based on the principle of justice and where merit would be valued. There should be no discrimination against anybody whether they are men or women [or] between provinces. And, when an injustice is done, justice should be provided...The principle of justice should be lived by those in authority in their personal relations,

in their policies, in the distribution of whatever is in the [federal] kitty to the provinces.

Bernadette: ....There are such great disparities between, for example, girls and boys education, between urban and rural areas....Can we value merit when there are all these disparities?

Mehrunissa: I believe that, for merit to have value, there must be equal opportunity for all. There are glaring disparities between the urban and rural areas because governments have not been able to provide equal opportunities. This may be due to economic factors or the disparities may be the result of intentional government policies. Whatever the reason we have to bring the people in the deprived areas up to level. But even in bringing people up to level, we must exercise merit. Again when we are selecting people on the basis of the quota system we should use merit.

The representatives of the people -- the parliament -- are only symbols of democracy. Democracy is an attitude of mind, a way of life that must be depicted by the various sections of the people, by departments and institutions....We have to demonstrate sympathy for weaker persons or sections like women, children, the poor...and take them along with us into the mainstream. One demonstration of us moving towards democracy would be giving importance to education...not merely bookish education but education to bring a change in the vision and thinking of the people. (29-4-99)

Mehrunissa's vision for Pakistani society remains aristocratic -- meritocracy replacing hierarchy with provision of some solace to the poor. She sees education as preparing citizens for living a democratic way of life. Like Mehrunissa, Farman's dream of a democratic Pakistan would remain an "impoverished" dream but for the work of educators. Education he argued must prepare citizens useful to self and society, but it is the elite, not all citizens, who rule. Decisions, however, must be made through consultation and consensus.

Farman: A prosperous society without any human suffering...A society which is contributing to the development of a culture of peace, tolerance, respect for others, searching for truth and of course contributing their share to the progress of humanity as a whole....We need dedicated and committed teachers for our schools, colleges, and universities...to make progress,...to achieve our noble goals and to make good democrats. No democracy can work without democrats. In a democracy all citizens must be useful to self and society,... [but] a profound democracy can be instituted [only] through good governance by the political

leadership and the elite. This will require a narrowing of the gap between the professed principles of democracy and the actual conduct of the political leadership. The political history of Pakistan is replete with examples where the contradictions between professed democratic beliefs and authoritarian behavior have resulted in bringing an end to democracy. Eliminating these contradictions requires: one, creating a climate for the expression of plurality of views, tolerance to opposing views, whether they come from within the party or from the opposition, and resolution of these conflicting views and values through negotiation and dialogue; two, respect for the law by upholding the rule of law and seeing themselves subservient to the law; and three, equality of rights and opportunities for people irrespective of caste, religion, status. (7-4-99)

Aqil, unlike Mehrunissa and Farman, called for greater political equality by devolution of power to the people. Like Farman, he suggested the use of the more democratic decision-making processes of *shura* and *ijma* and suggested how they could be applied in the education system to make it more democratic.

Aqil: A tolerant society where you listen to other's ideas, give ideas, where you discuss things, where decisions are made through mutual consultation (*shura*)...consensus building *(ijma)* rather than authoritarianism. It is very Islamic. [He quotes a verse from the *Qur'an* and translates for me], 'Whenever you decide consult one another'...A society where law and order prevails. A society where there is justice, where you provide justice to those who do not have, where you provide basic education facilities which has been enshrined in the constitution but has not been fulfilled so far...Gender equality not only in home affairs but everywhere, -- in the fields, in the office, in the educational institutions. If we do not take our women along with us then we are not harnessing our potential properly. We are working with only one hand when we should be utilizing both hands...You can say I would like an egalitarian society....

A good democracy requires two things, consensus building and devolution of power to the people. Democracy that relies solely on voting and on the practice that the one who gets 51 votes as compared to 49 votes rules is limited. Democracy is about consensus building -- a process whereby majority and minority really think about the matter at hand and make a decision in a unanimous manner.

No one can have absolute power for a long time. Because once the masses feel deprived they stand up. The sooner we devolve power and privileges to the communities the better....In 1972 just with the stroke of a pen, with martial law regulation 118 all the private institutions were taken over and a totally democratic institution, in education, was strangulated overnight. More powers should be given to the educational institutions, decentralizing the affairs would pave the way

for democracy as far as education is concerned....The government should not take over things the people can do for themselves....(7-4-99)

Shagufta points out the limitations of representative democracy and suggests peoples' active participation in civil society. She, however, recognizes that an active civil society requires an educated and economically independent citizenry. She believes her vision is realizable because it is already present on a small scale.

Shagufta: A society where people respect basic human rights and actively participate in ensuring people get these rights....A society in which one has the freedom of choice, freedom of profession, freedom of speech, freedom of association [and] where people would ensure that these freedoms were protected....A system of justice where everybody can go and appeal for justice. This means changing political structures...and increasing the political awareness of people at the grassroots.

I don't think this model (representative democracy) is good for a country like Pakistan. I understand going to the polls is one aspect of democracy and may be an essential aspect, but if it is not supported by a conscious and active civil society then there is a big chance of the entire system becoming corrupt. I think only an active civil society can make politicians accountable....

In Pakistan the growth of civil societies has been restricted for many reasons. One is illiteracy. You can't expect people to be aware if they are not educated. They can't even read the newspapers how can they become aware of what is happening in the world...The government is very, very capable [of educating the people] if they are really interested, but there is a lack of political commitment and political will. Maybe the situation suits them, because education brings awareness, brings a need to question issues, brings a need for organization. The second barrier is poverty. You can't expect poor people, for whom survival is an issue, to think about public issues. They are so involved in their survival issues, in their security issues, that they hardly get any time or have the motivation or the interest to question why the road is being built from the senator's farm to the market and things like that. My hope for the country is that civil society should grow, civil society should assert itself, civil society should become selfless...[It] should have no political interest and no commercial interest but only conscious citizens looking at public issues, the voice of the teeming millions.

There is hope that things can be improved, and I see a lot of this happening in Pakistan today. For instance there has been a very rapid growth of organizations at all levels. Some are totally at the grassroots level and others are of middle class people, people who are professionals....These organizations have started questioning things, which nobody had dared to question till quite recently. They are questioning for instance the defense budget of Pakistan. They are questioning the deteriorating social indicators of Pakistan. They are rejecting the

> entire nuclear program of Pakistan. They are pointing out that other countries have resolved their issues and are now moving towards social and economic development of their countries and questioning why these two countries (Pakistan and India) could not resolve their issues in 50 years. This is the area where hope is coming from. People are organizing themselves; they are asking questions; they are mobilizing the masses; they are going into communities and raising the same kinds of question and making them more aware. It's still at a very small scale...If these positive trends dominate then there is hope in this country that things may change. (13-2-99)

My conversation partners all believed that democracy is possible in Pakistan. While all focused on political democracy, Shagufta and Aqil argued that without greater economic equality people would not be able to play their role in society. Mehrunissa noted the presence of traditional consensual decision-making institutions. I feel these will have to be reformed to include women to make them truly democratic. She also saw benevolent feudal lords as acting democratically. To see benevolent feudal lords or military dictators as acting democratically is to buy into an ideology that has served to undermine democracy. Farman and Mehrunissa wanted greater participation by people, but believe democracy requires good governance by the political leadership and the elite, while Aqil and Shagufta made it clear that the representative model has failed and proposed a more participatory model based on devolving power to local government, that is, relatively small groups of people governing themselves and creating and strengthening civil society.

This analysis of Pakistani society indicates that changes in the political system, while important, are not enough. Disparities between the rich and the poor, men and women, the urban and the rural must be lessened for democracy to be attained or become a way of life. Democracy, based on the premise of justice and equality, must be seen as more than a political concept. Equality in the political sphere -- that is, a vote for everyone -- has been unsuccessful in instituting democracy in Pakistan because of inequalities in the social and economic spheres. The concept of democracy must be broadened to include the social and economic spheres as well. All my conversation partners felt education has a role to play in bringing about the change. Education must be provided to all. Through education, the attitudes of people are formed; where people

learn to analyze, to question, in preparation for the roles they are to play in a democratic society. Achieving this "education must not be bookish; but, it must bring a change in the vision and thinking of the people" (Mehrunissa). Reconceptualizing democracy to include the socioeconomic sphere suggests that education for democratic citizenship will have to be reconceptualized as well.

The hope expressed in the conversations is hope grounded in a commitment to their vision, a vision already emerging in the lives they live.

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM: PERPETUATING THE DOMINANT CULTURE

In this section, my conversation partners undertake an analysis of the education system with the purpose of understanding it so as to explore the opportunities and means to use schools to challenge the dominant culture and serve the realization of the vision of a democratic society. I recognize there are a number of sites of education and cultural practice in which educators must act as "transformative intellectuals." My concern here is primarily with the practice of education in schools, and with how that practice can be opened up and reconstituted as a practice in the service of the transformation of Pakistani society into a truly democratic society. I am also interested in how the university where I am engaged in the preparation of teachers can challenge and support teachers in their practice in the service of preparing citizens for a democratic society.

The Purpose of Schools: Citizenship Education

Bernadette: What is the purpose of schools?

> Shagufta: To educate good human beings...who have some values. Children should be educated in what they require for everyday life which entails learning to deal with others, to be a good neighbor, to be a good citizen, to be a good human being....Apart from literacy, schools should concentrate on informing children about what is happening in society and making them more responsible citizens. (26-3-99)

> Farman: What is the purpose of school is a very theoretical question. The purpose of any school, I think, would be to prepare good citizens....A good citizen is one who contributes to the welfare of society, country and humanity...by

executing or discharging his responsibility towards them. Other things are he obeys and respects the rule of law, tolerates and accommodates the opinions of others and promotes good values of humanity. (7-4-99)

Aqil: I think it is the main institution that can really work for bringing about democracy in the country...The main purpose of school is to educate,... to create an awareness in the masses....[so that they] become aware of their rights.... (7-4-99)

Mehrunissa: For me the purpose of school is to change a child into a respectable citizen of the society. If not a perfect human being than at least a person who should understand his responsibilities towards the society. This is what our schools should be imparting, which unfortunately they are not doing for various reasons. (29-4-99)

All of my conversation partners saw the aim of schools as preparing "good citizens." Farman's and Mehrunissa's interpretation of "good citizen" was humanistic, while Shagufta's and Aqil's was oriented towards justice and equality.

Schools in Pakistan: The Road to Ruin

Bernadette: You said, "unfortunately schools are not doing what they should." How are they functioning today? I would like us to look at the administration of schools, the teaching and learning in the classroom as well as the examination system.

Mehrunissa: Our education system is most unsatisfactory. We have not produced educated people, we have produced graduates. We have produced postgraduates, but they are not masters of their subject. They are just degree holders. The degree may make them eligible for a job but it has not prepared them to contribute positively to the society....We have produced a young generation not capable of handling any situation and who are easily misled by forces acting in the name of religion, ethnicity, discrimination and who try to come up by adopting unfair means. The reason for the present state is the weak base of our primary education and our [inability] to provide well-educated teachers.... (29-4-99)

Shagufta: It depends upon what kind of school you are talking about. If we are talking about the elite Cambridge schools, you must have read the horrifying stories of crime and violence, of the kids studying in these schools,...I don't think they qualify as good schools because they look at only one aspect, that is getting good grades in the O levels and A levels. And even for those good grades

children are going to tuition....These educational institutions, which are mushrooming all over the country, are not being patronized to get a better education but as a road to a green card or admission to a Canadian or American university...

But if we talk about the government schools where the children of the lower middle class are going, there is a culture of not working hard. The teachers are not working hard and they don't inspire their students to work hard. The physical structure is often in shambles. The atmosphere is not motivating, there is no fun learning, so students are not attracted to school or motivated to stay in school....The reason for this may be the misery within the school and outside the school...The teachers have tremendous personal and family problems that affect their efficiency and attitude towards life.

I have had very limited experience in rural Sindh. The reality is very, very depressing...Many schools, especially girls' schools, are locked. I thought it was because they had no teachers... but I learnt teachers have been appointed, but they never attend school, their husbands came on the first of the month to collect their salary. Those in charge risk losing their jobs if they take action because recruitment has been politicized. The teachers have the backing of a minister or a member of the assemblies....This means that there is no merit in recruitment and no supervision or monitoring of teachers...The teachers content knowledge is very limited and they have little or no preparation for teaching. I think the job of a teacher is very important because of the multiplier effect, but what I see is most schools are spreading illiteracy. (26-3-99)

Aqil: I was reading Adam Curle's book *Development of Education in Pakistan*. There are many things I do not agree with, but one thing I agree with one hundred percent is that there has been no recognition for scholarship in Pakistan. Before the separation of East Pakistan, a primary school teacher was considered a very prestigious person in East Pakistan, whereas he was considered a downtrodden person in West Pakistan. There is a big lesson to learn from just this one sentence. If we don't change our attitude, our perspective about education we are not going to make any headway...

There are many difficulties within our educational system. Difficulties with quantity and quality of education....In the urban areas schools are overcrowded, while in the rural areas they are sort of empty. This, is particularly disturbing because 70-75% of our population live in rural areas.

If I have to summarize the problem of educational provision in a few words then it is of the rural areas and by corollary of females....At a meeting with female teachers who had gone to Balochistan to see the progress in a USAID funded project for the promotion of female primary education, the then Chief Minister said, 'This is just a waste of money...We want our women to do the household chores not go to school. If they are educated they will run away from their husbands.' The Chief Minister was a feudal lord, of course. We have to

come out of the shackles of these people. This can only happen through education.

Regarding quality, the curriculum is not well developed and the delivery is poor. A number of factors are responsible. To start...the textbooks are unattractive, unimaginative and do not relate to the real-life situation. The teachers...I can bet you there are teachers who are no better than the students. You know the BRIDGES study found teachers are at par with the students, and in some cases the students better than the teachers....Teacher training leaves much to be desired. Of what quality can the teachers be after undergoing ten years of education and nine months of professional training, and that too in a very unimaginative manner? Add to this the behavior of the teachers...some even use corporal punishment...And then there is the examination system that calls on students to memorize the entire syllabus which becomes the basis on which students pass or fail. (7-4-99)

Farman: The type of education we are following in school is abstract. It is education for the sake of education. As a result, students are unable to contribute to the welfare of the society....country....humanity....This has led to the curriculum and textbooks being predominantly knowledge oriented and as a result the focus in the classroom is also oriented towards the acquisition of knowledge and reproduction of knowledge. Acquisition of knowledge because the textbook leads towards it and the teacher demands it and reproduction because the evaluation system demands it. (7-4-99)

My conversation partners pointed out that the primary purpose of schools in Pakistan is certification -- for jobs in the Matric system and for admission to foreign universities in the Cambridge system. The education officials had expressed the belief that schools should prepare "good citizens," but in reality the social dimension did not feature at all. They all pointed out that besides being irrelevant to society, the quality of education being provided was so bad that schools in the rural areas were spreading illiteracy.

Schools Ruined: Intentional? Negligence?

Bernadette: ...Why have schools come to be this way?

Mehrunissa: I think the (hesitates) denial of all criteria,...flouting of rules and regulations and a very weak monitoring system because education officers who are supposed to have the authority are not given it, it is with some minister or

bureaucrat....When there is no respect for rules and regulations, the institution breaks down and we come to the situation we have today. (29-4-99)

Shagufta: Schools cannot be seen in isolation. Schools are very much a part of the society, and if there is a general deterioration in the society the schools can't remain unaffected. We need to ask why has society deteriorated so much over time....I think the education department has become so huge it is difficult to manage, and there is corruption and politicization of the hiring process....I have very good memories of my school. The teachers were dedicated and came regularly to school. The headmistress was strict. She monitored and supervised the teachers and the students....Before, good students, especially women, joined teaching but now there are opportunities for them in other sectors so teaching is not their first option. Today, the quality of people graduating from our schools and universities have deteriorated...There are some good people, but they do not want to go into teaching. Therefore, the people left for these jobs are mediocre or even worse. The multiplier effect as I said earlier, is tremendous. When illiterates are teaching illiterates, what else can you expect?

It is difficult to say whether it was done intentionally or whether negligence and inefficiency has created this situation; but, certainly, it is due to a lack of political commitment. There has been a lack of continuity in the government and therefore in the policies. In such a situation, the governments became short-sighted and looked for immediate, tangible results rather than those which need long gestation periods, where fruits would be seen after ten or twelve years....The element of corruption is also there...[and] the small budgetary allocations. (26-3-99)

Aqil: This is the cumulative result of the noncommittal attitude of all the political leaders of Pakistan. They made political commitments, but when it came to providing resources they dragged their feet. Even today only 2% of the GNP is allocated to education. Another is internal inefficiency of the system. Did we use whatever we had to the maximum? No. Actual expenditure did not exceed fifty percent. The population explosion has made it difficult to provide education to the teeming millions of children and quality has suffered at the hands of teachers who have little schooling and questionable professional training. (7-4-99)

Farman: Financial allocation to education has been low and educational provision did not match the rate at which the population grew, at which it is growing in the country. (8-4-99)

My conversation partners pointed out that the education system has been ruined by a lack of political commitment, by internal inefficiency of the system, and by low

budgetary allocations. Aqil pointed out that even out of the small budgetary allocation only 50% is utilized. Shagufta made an important contribution when she situated schools in society and saw the deterioration of society reflected in schools. Her analysis points to the dynamic and mutually influencing relationship between schools and society so that a change in the education system will bring about a change in society as well.

Schools Ruined in the Interests of the Ruling Elite

My conversation partners struggled with the question of whose interests are served by schools in Pakistan. A question like this implies intentionality. Most people find it difficult to believe that anyone would intentionally destroy the future of their children and, ultimately, as is happening today in Pakistan, their own future.

> Bernadette: Whose interests are served in schools being this way?
>
> Farman: I don't know whose interests they are serving. What do you mean by whose interest are they serving?
>
> Bernadette: For example, in an analysis of history texts Dr. K. K. Aziz in his book *The Murder of the History of Pakistan* shows how each government in power has written history with its own interests in mind. When military governments have been in power, the textbooks have taught that politicians are corrupt, inept at governing the country and the military is our savior. In the teaching and learning of such content the interests of the military are served....
>
> Farman: I think something is wrong if these things are in the textbooks. But I am not the right person to answer. You are meeting with Mushtaq; he is the right person to answer this question. (7-4-99)
>
> Mehrunissa: A few individuals -- the person(s) who are ruling -- who consider themselves the representatives of the people. Just to accommodate a few people, they did not do what should have been done. It is only the interests of a few who have been served and the whole system has been brought to this sorry state. (3-5-99)
>
> Shagufta: The ruling elite, the government in power. Because of the lack of continuity, the government wanted immediate results. Consequently tangible things like roads, bridges, industry got top priority and things which required long

gestation periods like education and health were given low priority....If you look at the allocations of the budget for defense, you see the army's interest....You don't fight with your neighbors for fifty years; you find some kind of compromise, some solution. But, if we resolve the conflict with our neighbor than what will be the justification for keeping a huge army...the large budgetary allocations to defense meant little for the social sectors....The [present] government is more interested in constructing motorways and building the Kalabagh Dam. With the emphasis on modernization, the industrialists have become an interest group...Symbols of modernization in a desert of illiteracy don't go together. (26-3-99)

Aqil: It is the feudal system that is responsible for the difficulties in providing education in the rural areas in general and to females in particular. (7-4-88)

The conversations indicate that the interests of entrenched interest groups like the feudal lords and the military are served, as well as the interests of those in each government such as the industrialists at the present time.

In the Ruin lies Hope

Bernadette: You said earlier schools are a part of the culture. You also see the purpose of schools to make children well-informed and responsible citizens. What opportunities and means do you think exist or can be created for schools to challenge the present system and create the society envisioned?

Shagufta: Some schools are becoming more socially conscious than other schools. I know of schools in Karachi that are inviting social workers, community organizers to expose their students to their work. They are trying to make their students more aware and trying to inspire them. Some elite schools are exploring another way. They have partnered with schools in *katchi abadis* (squatter settlements) and students from the elite schools are going to those schools. I don't think the elite schools are learning about society from their *katchi abadi* partner schools. It is a charity relationship, not a partnership. But as a first step I think its good. (26-3-99)

Mehrunissa: We will have to review the whole education system. Change the policies, revise the syllabus, change the examination system, improve the training and recruitment of teachers....We have to train our teachers to impart education in a manner similar to the one adopted by other developing nations which resulted in very formidable changes in their society. (29-4-99)

> Mushtaq: A possibility for change is the education policy directive that allows for the use of multiple textbooks. Let there be good textbooks created by the government....and let students and teacher benefit from them. The ideal in front of them must be the curriculum. (8-4-99)

My conversation partners pointed to existing practices such as partnerships between elite and poor schools, and to possibilities in the 1998 education policy, such as multiple textbooks, as ways of making schools relevant to the needs of society. But Mehrunissa noted that what was needed was a restructuring of the whole education system.

The education officials all recognized that the purpose of schools is citizenship education, but two conceptualized citizenship education as humanistic, the aim of which is preparing all to play an active role in society but only some for leadership, while the other two had a transformative conception with students being prepared to create a democratic society. They all noted, however, that the current educational system is not fulfilling this role, instead it serves individualistic ends. Schools thus serve the interest of the ruling elites. Given this reality, if schools are to serve as preparatory sites for citizens in a democracy, then education must be reconceptualized to serve this purpose. This, they noted, would require restructuring of the entire education system to make it relevant to the needs of society, improving its quality, and extending access to everyone. Possibilities for change are already evident in government plans, such as allowing multiple textbooks, as well as in the attempts in some schools to make their students more socially conscious and inspiring them to act to realize a democratic society.

SOCIAL STUDIES: EXPLORING POSSIBILITIES

In the school curriculum, social studies has been assigned the task of citizenship education (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977; Osborne, 1987; Sears, 1997). According to Engle and Ochoa (1988) to prepare citizens for democracy, citizenship education must consist of two related but somewhat disparate parts: the first is socialization and the second, countersocialization. They believe socialization, primarily but not exclusively, occurs in the primary grades. Its focus is on transmitting to the younger generation the

cultural values and beliefs, traditions and customs, history and social norms of the society. Countersocialization, usually but not exclusively, takes place in the higher grades and focuses on developing in students the ability to question what they have come to accept as truth, to think critically, to analyze and find solutions to social issues and problems and so on. In Pakistan, social studies education has focused on developing students into patriotic Pakistanis and good Muslims throughout their school years. Not having undergone the process of countersocialization, the citizens of Pakistan are ill-prepared to question taken-for-granted truths, to undertake a critical analysis of society and to come up with the ways to resolve the multifarious problems facing Pakistani society today.

Aqil and Farman did not converse with me on this topic because they felt they lacked the expertise. They arranged for Mushtaq to participate instead.

The Purpose of Social Studies: Contested

Bernadette: ...What is the purpose of social studies in the school curriculum?

Mehrunissa: The purpose of social studies is for the child to know about the social structure of society, know about the geography of the area, know about the history of the province particularly and the history of Pakistan in general.

Bernadette: Social studies was first included in the curriculum in 1962 with the aim of developing citizens....During our previous conversation, you mentioned, you wanted citizens who understood themselves and society, were tolerant and persevering...Will we be able to develop this kind of citizen by teaching the above?

Mehrunissa: No. I don't think so. I think we should be developing civic sense and civic attitude. The social studies we are teaching children at each level is more or less the same, and we keep on repeating it even at college and university. For instance -- the history of Pakistan, that is, the independence movement of Pakistan -- is being taught right through....What is required is to create civic sense....I think there is great need to review what we are teaching under the name of social studies at the different levels.

Bernadette: ...What do you mean by civic sense? How do you understand it?

Mehrunissa: Civic sense would be...development of the person as a responsible citizen...taking responsibility for one's neighborhood, town or city....For example, keeping the neighborhood clean, following the traffic rules and laws, creating in the neighborhood a sense of brotherhood, promoting peace and tranquillity in the society, and tolerance as well....These are the basic things that should be included in the curriculum. (In what appeared to be an after thought she added), Patriotism comes first but we need to develop these fundamentals as well.

Bernadette: You have given a much broader view of civic sense than most social studies books where it is confined to voting every four years...(Interrupting me)

Mehrunissa: Voting is very important. We, the educated, have given voting secondary importance. The villagers are very enthusiastic during elections, but we educated people are indifferent to the process which has resulted in the wrong people being elected. We take it as a holiday to stay at home and rest. We need to get the educated people to realize it is their responsibility and duty to vote as voting is a way of holding leaders accountable...A training process is needed to get people to take the responsibility of choosing and holding a leader accountable. (3-5-99)

I agree with Mehrunissa that the educated class, being small in number, have become apathetic and cynical about the possibility of bringing about change through the ballot box and therefore many do not vote. However, the villagers cannot be blamed for their choices because the feudal society in which they live makes it imperative for them to vote for their feudal lord.

Mehrunissa found social studies education repetitive and irrelevant to students lives and called for it to be reviewed. Mushtaq on the other hand justified the present curriculum noting its importance for developing the good Muslim and by extension the good citizen as well as for cultural transmission..

Mushtaq: First of all, emphasis on Islam as Pakistan is pre-dominantly a Muslim country and students should turn out to be good Muslims. They must know about the societal set up, the social relationships and interlinkages, societal problems and the country's situation so that they develop love for their country, for their people, respect for other members of the society and as a member of society be a responsible person who discharges his duties and benefits from the rights of a citizen of that society....In other words, build them into a well-informed, balanced and responsible citizen who also subscribes to the ideology on which Pakistan is based.

Bernadette: You want students to become good Muslims. Isn't that the purpose of having Islamiat in the curriculum? There is so much emphasis on the ideology of Pakistan, yet nowhere is the ideology that one should subscribe to defined. It seems open to any interpretation.

Mushtaq: It is to be understood clearly that whatever reference is made to Islam it is without any feeling of animosity towards other religions. The object is to enhance students' awareness and to make them conversant with the fundamental tenets and principles of Islam; and, by and large, the broader perspectives do coincide with the borderlines of other faiths. This is to teach them...to become a good father, mother, citizen, a person responsive to the needs of society, one who is tolerant, peace loving, ...who dispenses his duties to other human beings and to the Almighty....A moral person, one who is balanced, nice to others, helps a person in agony, irrespective of their faith, color or creed. The prime object is to make them moral citizens with know how of the basic ideology. (8-4-99)

Mushtaq's comments about "good Muslim" and Pakistan's ideology seem simplistic. He does not acknowledge they are open to different interpretations. My question was aimed at helping him see the need for identifying broadly what was meant by the terms so as to set limits to their interpretation. He, however, seemed to have seen them as questioning their very inclusion in the curriculum by me, a Christian.

Shagufta: The purpose is to make students aware of and well-informed about what is happening in society, to make them better and more responsible citizens and to inform them about the organizations working in society and how they can participate in improving society. (26-3-99)

The purpose of social studies was seen by the conversants as the preparation of citizens, but while Mushtaq conceptualized citizenship education as preservation of the status quo, Mehrunissa's and Shagufta's conceptions envisioned students as active participants in efforts to improve society.

Social Studies: At the Bottom of the Hierarchy of School Subjects

Bernadette: What is the status of social studies in the school curriculum?

Mehrunissa: I don't think anybody has actually given serious thought to social studies. It is a subject in the curriculum, so it is taught. No one has actually

thought of taking advantage of this subject...see the possibilities it offers...That's why it has a very low profile and has not been given much importance. I don't think the social studies the children are studying is having any impact on them because it is not appropriate to their age, their surroundings; and, it is repetitive. It is of no interest to them. They are just reading it because it is part of the curriculum. But [they are] not actually learning from it. The teachers are teaching it because they have to....It is just a mechanical act that is taking place.

...Pakistan, has gone through difficult times. In the history of Pakistan we have gone through many upheavals,...and so many vicissitudes that we are not yet actually settled. We don't feel confident about how we should write our history. The emphasis on the past is because of a very limited present...[and] because we want to go back and relish our being very ancient, our being very old, and connect it to the present. But now it is fifty years, we should look at our history realistically, admit the few wrongs [and look] towards the future. The texts are very repetitive... if it is something religious we keep emphasizing it, if it is something ancient we keep emphasizing it as if we want to make ourselves believe this ...that we are not going anywhere but we are to stay here...we keep reassuring ourselves. It is all right to reassure yourself but I think we should come out of this now. (3-5-99)

Mehrunissa acknowledged that curriculum developers have not seen the possibilities social studies offers, that as a result it has a low status and is taught only because it is in the school curriculum. At the time of the creation of Pakistan, many believed Pakistan would not survive as a separate country. The war with India in 1948 and 1965 indicated India's hegemonic intentions. The secession of East Pakistan in 1971 was realization of these fears, fears that Mehrunissa believes are responsible for the repetition of pre-independence history and Islam in the social studies curriculum.

Mushtaq: Social studies runs through the school, starting from class four onwards...and vertically enhancing the canvas of knowledge from the student's environment, to his country and to other societies. It is considered an important subject because we are not intending to make...robots or material beings but good human beings...who are also well-informed citizens who knows their kinship and linkages with society.

Bernadette: ...in reality, it is an unimportant subject because unlike the requirement for specialist subject teachers in math, science and English it is commonly believed that anyone can teach social studies. In most cases social studies is allocated less time than other subjects and is placed at the end of the day when children are tired...

Mushtaq: You are right, this shows that adequate importance is not given to the subject. As I said earlier, the subject should enjoy higher priority because we are not preparing robots but good human beings and well-informed citizens. Your anxiety is well founded. We should train the teachers in a proper manner so they can convey the message and can teach the students in a most appropriate fashion so that the outcomes, the expected academic outcomes are achieved. (Later in our conversation when talking about textbooks Mushtaq said) We have already introduced multiple textbooks in English language and we are bringing out multiple textbooks in science and mathematics. (8-4-99)

Not having recognized the possibilities social studies offers, its status is low in the hierarchy of subjects in the school curriculum and, as Mehrunissa and to some extent Mushtaq recognize, needs to be reconceptualized if it is to serve the preparation of citizens who will create a democratic society in Pakistan.

Reconceptualizing Social Studies to Prepare Democratic Citizens

Bernadette: My reason for undertaking this research is to uncover the possibilities social studies offers to prepare student for democratic citizenship. What alternative understandings and practices of social studies can we explore to prepare our students as democratic citizens? What knowledge, skills and attitudes/values will students have to acquire, what actions will they have to take in order to play this role effectively?

Shagufta: I think they will have to learn about the structure of the society. They look at society from a very micro perspective -- the society around them; but, they need knowledge about society at large, about history, about their culture and traditions, about the good and bad in the society....They should be trained in asking questions, analysis, investigating issues and problem-solving. I think training in problem-solving is very important because we as a society are very good at criticizing...but not at finding ways to improve or change things....When investigating issues, they must learn to be objective, keep all biases aside, understand the different points of view and give value to them rather than thinking the person [giving the alternative view] is against me. When you look at the issues from another perspective you become more tolerant...and can reach a compromise solution....These skills are very important, but...they are not encouraged in our society. In some cases we try to control the desire of probing and asking questions and doing analysis....

Bernadette: ....You've mentioned that our society does not encourage children asking questions and engaging in analysis. When I encourage teachers to question

and to teach their students to question, they fear this skill will be used to question those in authority and they tell me 'in our society authority is to be respected not challenged'. How would you respond to them?

Shagufta: Yes, that is an important issue. You can't have a set of values at home and a different set of values in school....Children have inquisitive minds and they ask questions. When they do, parents and teachers should be tolerant, should try to answer....When they can't ask questions in a respectful manner, then they start criticizing and misbehaving....It is because there is no culture of decent discussion, of listening to opposite points of view and respecting them.

Bernadette: ....You've talked earlier about the need for people to actively participate in civil society. To prepare students to do this, what can we do in schools and in social studies classrooms?

Shagufta: I think schools should provide leadership training from the very beginning. I don't mean the kind where teachers nominate students who are doing well in their studies or who are the teacher's favorites for head boy or head girl and the students vote for them. I don't think that is democratic. I think there should be student committees -- sports committee, debate committee, magazine committee -- where students design and implement their own programs. These committees should have a horizontal rather than hierarchical structure -- that is one leader and a deputy leader -- because members lose their motivation [while in a horizontal structure] all members of the committee work at an equal level.

Bernadette: ....What about action in society?

Shagufta: Yes, I think this is the role of schools but schools cannot do it on their own....I think it is the responsibility of people like us who are from civil society to involve schools in whatever we are doing....I think we should think about how we can involve schools and other educational institutions in the larger issues of society. (26-3-99)

Mehrunissa: I think the most basic thing is to learn to understand themselves and their surroundings....Besides studying their own social, political and economic system they should engage in comparative studies of other social, economic and political systems. It would provide the insight into whether they need to improve their systems by incorporating things from outside or be happy with the system they have. They should learn tolerance and perseverance, to cultivate a softness in their personality [and] to develop a positive attitude because a negative attitude mars everything. We must review the entire social studies curriculum [and] rewrite it starting from the beginning. We should see what is taught in other

countries under the subject of social studies, but we would need to redefine it and also put in all the things that we have talked about today. (3-5-99)

Aqil: Students should learn problem-solving skills, that is, identification of the problem, how to search for information and find ways to solve the problem....attitude of tolerance where you listen to others, give your own ideas and discuss things. (8-4-99)

Farman: ....All the disciplines are important, as students acquire knowledge from them and all contribute to the development of the individual and society in various ways....We have divided ourselves into the social science camp and the natural science camp; but, without joint efforts, no change is possible....Students should acquire the skills to observe reality, to analyze various situations, to investigate to find out what is wrong and what is correct. (7-4-99)

Our conversations around the purpose of social studies indicate that there is a huge dichotomy between the stated purpose of social studies -- democratic citizenship education -- and what is actually taught in social studies classrooms in Pakistan. Education officials have identified the knowledge, skills, and attitudes students need to learn and how these are to be taught in the social studies classroom so that all students are prepared to participate actively in the governance of their society.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS: HOPES AND CHALLENGES

My conversation partners have shared an existing vision for Pakistani society and presented bold and radical measures to realize it. They recognized that in a class-divided and hierarchical society like Pakistan, representative democracy is not a suitable political system. They argued that it has enhanced the power of already powerful groups and strengthened the rigid social structure. It has limited the participation of the people to voting and strengthened their belief that they are not capable of leadership roles, that all they have to do is choose leaders. They suggested representative democracy be replaced by participatory democracy in the form of local government, by democratizing traditional consensual decision-making institutions, through the inclusion of women, by decision-making based on consensus rather than majority vote, by enhancing the role of citizens through creating and strengthening already existing civil society organizations who must

keep both government and the private sector from encroaching on the rights of citizens. My conversation partners argued that participation will only be possible with greater socioeconomic equality to be brought about through dissolution of the feudal system, promotion of gender equality, and provision of quality education to all. That some of this is already happening, though on a very small scale, gives rise to hope that things will change.

Schools, they pointed out, have become largely irrelevant in preparing students to create a democratic society. To become sites for the development of democratic citizens, schools need to be restructured. The restructuring proposed by these education officials is radical and bold. Decentralization will require abandoning bureaucratic controls and replacing them with democratic structures. Curriculum decisions will require the participation of teachers, students and the community. Teacher education will have to recognize the complexity of teaching and the continuity of teacher development, and will have to prepare teachers to collaborate, take risks, and have courage to act to realize the vision.

The teaching and learning of social studies will have to be reconceptualized to prepare students with the knowledge, dispositions, and courage to create the democratic society envisioned.

Chapter Six

IMPLEMENTING EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY: CONVERSATIONS AND ACTION RESEARCH WITH TEACHERS

My original intention was to observe the teachers' teaching, and engage in conversations about their intentions and actions in preparing students for democratic citizenship in their social studies classroom. I approached three teachers in different schools through my contact with the Institute for Educational Development, Aga Khan University's Visiting Teacher Program (VTP). My original intention changed when I realized that, because of personal and contextual constraints, teachers were unable to translate their desires into classroom practice. My conversations led me to realize that the teachers would be greatly served if we engaged in action research.

Action research, from a critical pedagogical perspective, assumes that the individuals we engage with are knowledgeable and have agency. Peoples' knowledge and actions are often conditioned by contexts that limit both the scope of the individual's intentions and the possibility of their realization. The task of the researcher is to engage such individuals so as to provoke their inquiry into their actions and challenge their existing views. Rarely disclosed by teachers, and absent from accounts of action research, are the more private aspects of teaching and learning; the directions and drives constituted by individual subjective aspects such as purposes, desires, insights so intimately part of teachers' practices that their appearance as skills becomes taken-for-granted. This means seeing teaching not only as the application of methods and skills but a process of becoming, a time of formation and transformation. Action research then becomes an inquiry not only into what one is doing but who one is becoming. It has a double focus -- transforming ourselves and the social structures within which we live and work.

Because teaching (what we do and who we are) occurs in an ideological context that privileges the interest, values and practices of the status quo, action research must seek to understand the complex relationship between teaching and our capacity to transform the experience of education through a deep commitment to social justice,

personal empowerment and an openness to contradictions, risk and change. This means envisioning how things ought to be; coming up with personal, practical options that serve to challenge the taken-for-granted practices that dominate teaching and learning and implementing them; questioning and reflecting on the actions and what they mean to those involved in them. The purpose of action research is to come up with practices that take individuals beyond the world they know, but in a way that does not insist on valorizing the new meanings.

Observations and conversations allowed me entry into the practical and personal world of the teachers. The conversations provided teachers the opportunity to reflect on their teaching and to articulate why they acted as they did. Gadamer (1989) reminds us that conversation requires us to be open to the "infinity of the unsaid" and Habermas (1972) to the extrahermeneutical factors that may distort what is being said or what is left unsaid. Conversation thus becomes a hermeneutic act that goes beyond understanding to critical reflection aimed at greater awareness of and challenge to existing reality so as to transform it.

Representing the conversations means more than recording their words. It requires interpretation to tease out the sense of life constructed by those who live it. However, interpreting the words of others leads to the development of yet another voice. The interpretation can never be synonymous with the experience itself. It is always selective, partial and contingent.

The chapter begins with the chronologies of the three teachers. Their chronologies only signify moments in their lives that I have selected and retold in trying to understand how this experience influences and is reflected in their practices, thoughts and understandings of what it means to teach for democratic citizenship. The conversations and action research projects that follow inquire into the teachers' understandings of democratic citizenship and the struggle to create the space required to implement these understandings as one desires within contexts already "overpopulated with the history and voice of others" (Britzman, 1991).

The contexts in which the teachers work are defined by isolation. Their individual struggles to realize their desires when confronted with the authoritative discourses within

their contexts often result in them reverting to old practices. It is therefore important for teachers to locate their struggles within the larger context of other teachers' struggles and in the struggles of other cultural workers. The following section focuses on the teachers' collaborative efforts to create the spaces to realize their desire to teach for democratic citizenship. I conclude the chapter with a reflection on the teachers' understandings of the nature and content of education for democratic citizenship.

THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Malik

Malik joined the study as a result of my efforts to involve a male participant. He showed a keen interest in participating and was invited to an introductory meeting. I met Malik for the first time at this meeting.

Malik received his education in a government school. He recalled doing very well in primary school and being accelerated twice. As he grew older he developed a love for cricket, often skipping school to play. His parents put a premium on education and discouraged his truancy by punishing him, having him stand in the position of a *murga* (cock) or making him *ganja* (shaving his hair off his head). Later they changed their residence to protect him from the bad influence of the neighbourhood. However, nothing changed until he failed class nine. He recalled his father being livid, his own feelings of shame and remorse and his decision to stop playing cricket and concentrate on his studies. Malik, however, regrets this decision now believing if he had continued to play cricket he would be a famous cricketer today.

After his intermediate examination, Malik started working in his father's shop making and fixing grills, at the same time studying for his certificate in teaching (CT). Malik did not want to be a teacher but his father insisted, as a job was ensured. Malik did not attend classes. To fulfill requirements he "just taught the required lessons and sat for the examinations." In 1992 when his father's business failed and his efforts to secure employment were unsuccessful, Malik took up a temporary teaching position. The following year he secured a permanent position through a quota reserved for the children of teachers. While teaching, he studied privately for his Bachelor's in Arts, at the same

time seeking a more financially rewarding job. On completion of his B.A., his father insisted that since he was teaching, he should study for his Bachelor's in Education. Malik complied as this was the only way to move ahead in the profession and receive better pay. Malik found his B.Ed. program monotonous, prescriptive and involving what Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) calls "bodily and ideological regulation" similar to his years at school where he was bench-bound, listening and memorizing the knowledge delivered by his teachers:

> In the B.Ed. the teachers just came into class and lectured. We were taught that as soon as you enter the classroom you must put the date on the blackboard, write down the subject, ask students questions to elicit the topic and write it on the blackboard....We were taught to stand in front of the desk and to teach only what was in the textbook. Once I started walking in the classroom and the supervisor instructed me to stand in one place as the sound of my feet would disturb the students. She also instructed me to hold the textbook straight and not to fold it. After reading and explaining we were instructed to ask students questions and to write the answers of the students on the blackboard. In the first year a teacher came and observed all my twenty one lessons and encouraged me to make students active participants in the classroom. He said, 'If you talk and don't involve students how will they learn'. In the second year a teacher who saw my first lesson said, 'You have given a perfect lesson so I won't see you again except at the end.' (Conversation 22-5-99)

The reinforcement of Malik's own school experience in his teacher training led him to believe knowledge was static, was received not constructed, and was synonymous with textbook material. He saw teaching as a series of repeat and monological performances where textbook knowledge is memorized and transmitted to passive students, and learning as memorization of textbook content. Because knowledge is calcified and synonymous with textbook content, students and teachers can be evaluated on the basis of students' performance in exams which call on them to regurgitate the knowledge transmitted by the teacher. He commented:

> Whenever I go into a new class I introduce myself and tell my students if you listen to me carefully and pay attention, you will never fail....
>
> When I enter the class I first inquire about the students' well being. I then tell them the topic we are going to study. Then I ask students if they have anything to say about the topic. If a student says something, I listen and accept it. Then I read from the textbook and explain what is said in my own words. After

> lecturing I ask students questions to find out what they have understood. After completing a chapter we do the questions and answers. Sometimes I would dictate the answers. But if the answers were very lengthy, students would mark the answer in the textbook and copy them in their notebooks. Then I would select 20-25 fill in the blanks and write them on the blackboard for the students to copy. When teaching class nine I would look through the past five years papers, pick out the important questions and get the students to answer them....I assess students by asking them to answer questions and fill in the blanks both orally and through written tests. Students who do badly are fined and the money used to purchase materials for the class....The first year I taught social studies the pass percentage of students rose from 87% to 97%. (Conversation 1-2-99)

Having taken social studies as a subject in his B.Ed., Malik had transferred his beliefs about knowledge and teaching and learning to social studies:

> Social studies is the study of society....The content of the social studies is the textbook, which deals mostly with geography and some history, mainly, the independence movement and some information about other countries, which has to be studied thoroughly. (Conversation 1-2-99)

Malik's efforts to change or do more than expected in school have constantly been thwarted. He changed schools hoping to find one where his efforts would be acknowledged but, being unsuccessful, decided he would conform:

> My biggest challenge is the work I want to do. I have the skills. Whenever I see a good thing I want to adopt it. I learned how to do everything for the exams and did it but the head took all the credit. In the second school I was helping a teacher during the exams...I think she feared I would take her position so took everything over....In government schools there is a lot of jealousy. Senior teachers are not happy when they see me doing so much. They want me to sit only....In the third school I never volunteered to take on any work myself but waited for them to ask me. I acted like I was illiterate only doing what they asked and as they told me. I was fed up of working and took three months leave....When I came to this school I had decided I was not going to do anything extra, just teach and take my pay. But then I was sent to the VT program and now I am working with you. A person who is used to working cannot stop himself from working. (Conversation 22-5-99)

Malik's first exposure to alternative ways of thinking about teaching and learning came when he volunteered to attend the Visiting Teacher Programme (VTP) at the IED, AKU in social studies in October 1998. Malik joined the program because he had heard "teaching was quite different there" and he wanted to learn different teaching strategies.

Malik was deeply affected by this experience. For the first time he became aware of practices that called for students' active participation in and understanding of what they were learning. His success in applying these new ideas in real classrooms during the programme convinced him of their value, but he doubted that he would be successful in his own classroom:

> The VTP was a completely new experience. It has changed my thinking. I did not know you could teach like this. Now I am keen to increase my own knowledge and understanding. I learned new methodologies and during practice I noticed students took a great interest in studying like this. I would like to teach this way in my school but I think it is impossible as the teachers who have already attended the VTP are not using these methods. I wondered how I would apply them. (Conversation 22-5-99)

Malik's School -- Iqbal Public School

Malik teaches in Iqbal Public School, a government Urdu language medium middle school (classes or grades 6-8) with an enrollment of 405 students. It is situated in a lower socio-economic area and serves predominantly one ethnic community. The staff is comprised of the head, deputy head, fourteen trained teachers and five support staff. The school is housed in a small building. The paint is faded. The doors, windows and desks are broken and most electrical fittings do not work. The entrance and the principals office were clean but the classrooms dusty and dirty. Each classroom has seating capacity for 30-35 students but they are used to accommodate up to a hundred children. The school has no playground or facilities such as toilets or provision for drinking water.

The organizational structure of the school is hierarchical. The main task of the head, who is at the apex of the structure, is to maintain good relations with the district education office (admitting children they recommend), the community (admitting children above the class limit) and the teachers (allowing them to sign the attendance register when they are absent) and doing the administrative work for which he has an office assistant. The deputy head's role is to ensure teachers complete the syllabus provided by the government, keep a diary of what they teach in class and maintain their attendance registers. Neither the head nor the deputy head considered the improvement

of teaching and learning their responsibility. Heads are seen as administrators not academic leaders, as evident in the report written by a district education officer who visited the school on November 26, 1998, and wrote, "It was found that the school is running smoothly. Great co-operation was found between the head and teachers. School maintenance is remarkable."

The teachers saw their task as completion of the textbook, which they did by reading the text, explaining it, assigning students the end of chapter questions and memorizing answers for tests and exams. Seven teachers from the school had completed the Visiting Teacher Program (VTP), but none seem to be using what they had learned in this program. The head seemed to regard the training as providing teachers the opportunity for personal development, not for the improvement of teaching and learning in the school. The teachers believed that since their students came from the small business class, all they needed to learn was reading, writing and arithmetic: "Where will these children go if they get educated? All they have to do is run their business. All they need is to learn to read and write." (Fieldnotes 7-1-99)

Malik's Classroom

Malik's classroom is a small, dark and dull room, lined with three rows of benches with little room between them. To reach the desk left vacant for me I had to walk sideways between two rows, holding my bag close to me so as not to hit anyone in the face. Of the sixty three students enrolled only nineteen were present, the others were helping their parents in their shops as it was *Ramzan,* the month of fasting for Muslims, but also the busiest shopping season in the year. When I looked around the class I noticed the benches were dusty and the classroom dirty with pieces of paper, pencil shavings and dust on the floor, especially at the back of the room.

On the front wall was a small blackboard, in front of which was a table and chair. The walls of the classroom were completely bare. On one wall there was a broken switch box with live wires protruding. A fan and a light bulb dangled precariously from a wire. The classroom had two large windows that opened onto the corridor and high on the opposite wall, three small windows. Malik introduced me and my research assistant

(Shazia) to the students. I saw them look quizzically at each other when they heard my name which marks me as a Christian.

The next day Malik moved his class to the science laboratory. He explained

> The science laboratory is larger. I wanted to do group work and I wanted students to sit face to face. I went to the head and explained what I wanted to do and he gave me permission to use the lab. (Pre lesson conversation 5-1-99)

The laboratory smelled musty. With the exception of the tables and stools, everything was covered with dust. Along two walls were counters with sinks, but no water. The rest of the room was taken up with four large tables around which there were a few stools. On the front wall there was a large blackboard. To one side of the blackboard there was a small cupboard with some laboratory equipment. The walls were completely bare. Two fans and four light bulbs were hanging from the ceiling; only two were working. There was one large window near the door and two large windows on the wall directly opposite. The three feet between the wall of the classroom and the boundary wall served as the school's garbage dump and urinal.

Anila

I first met Anila in 1995 when I visited her school to select a candidate for the first VTP in social studies. Anila had no prior teacher training, so was very eager to participate. In the VTP she participated with a quiet enthusiasm, spending time reflecting on what she was learning and how she could translate her learnings into practice in her own classroom. I met Anila again in September 1998 when I took a group of my students to Jinnah Private School to translate their learnings at the university into classroom practice. I was delighted to meet Anila and she to meet me. We talked about what we had been doing. I mentioned my research and asked her if she would like to participate. She immediately agreed. She felt she had more freedom to experiment with the change in the administration, "Now I can finally use what I learned in the VTP. We have a lot of freedom and the head is very encouraging and supportive." Anila requested me to teach her English. The school had asked teachers to improve their fluency in English. I told

her it was impossible, sharing a typical day with her. I promised to arrange for someone who could. Anila facilitated our teaching practice, seeming to be around whenever we needed her. Within this personal and professional relationship, I engaged in research conversations with Anila and observed her classroom teaching.

Anila received her education in two different government schools. She recalled enjoying her primary school, usually coming out first in her class. Her recollection of her middle and high school experiences were painful:

> There was a big gap between the teachers and the students. The female teachers were all old and unmarried. They were nasty and bad tempered. When their expectations were not fulfilled they used to take their anger out on us. They would tease and taunt the girls, if, for example, they cut their hair. They would beat us. The math teacher up to class ten used to hit the girls in their faces till they cried. Because of this a rebellion started in me. I developed the ability to stand up and face them. The math teacher miss Q.... tried to suppress me. I stopped studying completely. (Conversation 29-5-99)

Anila rebelled against her teachers' efforts to subjugate her, learning to stand up in the face of injustice. But she also stopped studying, hurting herself. Anila felt the pain acutely because during this transition her father, to whom she was very close, went to work in Libya:

> In those five years one more important thing happened. My father left Pakistan to work in Libya. Our relationship broke and I was very disturbed. Maybe because of this I had trouble in school. He came home every two years. I was not attached to my mother... (Conversation 29-5-99)

In both home and school, Anila had no one to rely on. Anila believed her teachers had responsibility for her educational situation and resented the fact that not one of them had shown any concern about why she was failing. She also believed that she had responsibility for herself. She was confused as to who was to blame, the system or herself. Anila's experiences in college reinforced this dilemma:

> When I joined college I got good teachers in economics and political science who encouraged me, who expected me to do well. I realized someone expected something from me, someone felt I could do better and I began to change. I think

> the independence I got in college was also responsible for the change. (Conversation 29-5-99)

From her experiences Anila came to believe it was important for teachers to hold high expectations for their students; but, the students were ultimately responsible for translating the expectations into reality. This belief reverberated throughout the study.

Anila wanted to go to university but, as the university was a co-education institution, she was reluctant. She felt she "did not know how to move among men," but her father insisted she get admission in the university to overcome her fear. She found the English medium university difficult because she had received all her education in Urdu. To deal with this, friends "sat in a group to teach each other." Another difficulty Anila faced was how to deal with male students:

> They wanted us to become their friends, appreciate them, whether good or bad. For us girls from middle class families, it was difficult. We didn't know how to resist them. We couldn't share this concern with our mothers, elders, some one more intelligent than us....The only option I felt I had was to choose difficult courses so as to get so involved in my studies that there was no free time. (Conversation 29-5-99)

In the university, Anila experienced first-hand the inequalities of Pakistani society based on language and gender and found innovative ways of dealing with them. She graduated with a Master's degree in economics. She started teaching in 1993 in a primary school, to kill time until she got "a job in a bank or some financial institution." Having no teacher training, the headmistress taught her "how to use the blackboard and to explain the content by lecturing." Anila also called on her previous experience to orient her teaching:

> In primary school, as the monitor of the class, I learned how to control the class. Sometimes I had to take the students reading and dictation while the teachers talked to each other. From the observation of my teachers I learned not to go too fast or slow while dictating...
>
> When I first started teaching social studies I did not think of social studies as having any purpose except to teach the textbook and get students to learn to answer questions for tests and exams. I did not plan any lessons....I taught as I had been taught. For example, when teaching the topic 'The Universe' I would define the solar system, tell them how many planets they were, their distance from

> the sun, explain the solar and lunar eclipse and so on. When we finished the chapter I would have them answer the questions at the end of the chapter and do the fill in the blanks. Most of the time I lectured. I used to try and learn all the subject matter so I could talk for 40 minutes. There was no room for discussion. I never used to interact with the students in class. I did not even bother to get a response from the students because I was providing the questions and answers myself. I never talked to the students individually. I hardly knew them. I did not bother about what they were thinking, whether they had any questions or any problems....Evaluation consisted of tests and examinations on which students had to answer questions. (Conversation 14-1-99).

The VTP was Anila's first professional experience of teacher education. She joined the program because she had no teacher training and felt the training would improve her practice. She credits it with increasing her knowledge of teaching and learning, resulting in a change in her classroom practices and in her interactions with students and colleagues. Personally she had become more open-minded. Two areas most resistant to change are content and assessment. She feels she can make some content changes, but a change in assessment practices will have to come from the administration:

> From the VTP I learned a variety of teaching strategies, techniques to develop students' skills, how to do pair and group work and even how to plan a lesson....Previously, if I didn't like a person I didn't work with them. But during the VTP we worked in groups with all types of people. That has made me more flexible. Colleagues tell me that my behavior with students changed after the course. Previously I was rigid, strict and used to beat the students, but now I am polite and have stopped beating them....The way I perceive things has changed. Previously, I used to just decide but now I think, consider all the things, and then decide...The syllabus is decided by the school so I have to teach the textbook...but the kind of questions I ask have changed. When teaching a topic, I relate it to current events...and discuss social, economic and political issues related to the topic... (Conversation 14-1-99)

Anila returned from the VTP expecting to make changes not only in her own practice but also in the material conditions of school so that she would be able to implement what she had learned. Instead she was forced to revert to her previous practice incorporating minor changes wherever possible in her own practice:

> After the VT program I was eager to apply what I had learned but I couldn't. There were a number of reasons. The head didn't want any complaints from the parents regarding the non-completion of the syllabus. She emphasized that

> whatever we taught must be in the copies in one form or another...There were few opportunities for teachers to sit together and plan. The management didn't like this type of interaction because teachers would think, analyze the flaws in the system and get the courage to point them out in front of others. This situation hindered us. We were locked in our own classes, even in our own classes we had no independence. We had to complete the syllabus in a specific period and we were not bold enough to stand against the management. We did what was possible in our own classes but the effect was not enough to bring any change in the system.... At present everyone is doing different things. There must be some vision and then all the teachers must work together in a systematic way to realize the vision. (Conversation 29-5-99).

Anila's description of her struggles reflects the power struggle between what Bakhtin (quoted in Britzman, 1991) calls "authoritative discourse" and "internally persuasive discourse." Authoritative discourse demands the allegiance of all in the social context in which it operates. It has the power to authorize subjects, determining who they are and what they will do. Internally persuasive discourse occupies the same terrain but acts in opposition to the norms, values, and views of the authoritative discourse operating in the social context. Since, in a social context many internally persuasive discourses operate "this discourse is able to reveal ever newer *ways to mean*." The struggle between authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse within history and particular contexts is dynamic and opens possibilities for change.

Anila's School -- Jinnah Private School

Jinnah Private School is a community-run private school. It is located in an upper middle class locality but serves a largely lower middle class population. The school runs two shifts -- an all girls' shift from 7:45 to 12:30 and an all boys' shift from 12:45 to 5:30. Each shift has an enrollment of around 900 students. The school is situated on a large campus and housed in a double story building. The walls of the building are covered with students' work. The classrooms are large and airy and are home to 40-45 students. Both the building and the grounds are well maintained. The school has a large library, science labs, a computer lab, a sick room and facilities such as toilets, drinking water and canteens. The school also has teaching resources such as a TV and VCR, an overhead projector, a photocopier, and around fifteen computers.

Like Malik's school, the organizational structure of Anila's school is hierarchical with the principal at the top. The principal had just joined the school and had initiated a number of changes in the structure and working of the school. He makes all decisions related to the organizational and instructional activities. Below the principal is the head teacher who monitors the organizational and instructional activities; that is, she ensures a safe and orderly environment, provides the resources necessary for teachers, supervises their teaching and encourages them to perform at their best. She is facilitated in this role by two deputy heads and two departmental heads.

There is little interaction within groups. Any interaction between groups is based on formal and non-formal reporting structures. The school lays great emphasis on learning outcomes deduced from marks that students obtain on school and standardized exams. Teachers are given awards for excellence based on student performance in these exams. The school uses every opportunity for teacher professional development (Saturdays and one month of the summer vacations) but, as there is no explicitly shared vision. Teachers are exposed to the latest, sometimes contradictory, fads. Therefore, while everyone speaks "the language" of change, quality teaching and learning, teachers generally lecture and promote rote learning as it enhances student's performance in examinations and confirms their belief that they are excellent teachers.

Anila's Classroom

Anila's classroom was a large square room with individual desks and chairs to seat the forty plus students in the class. The desk and chairs could be arranged to suit the group size the teacher wanted. Throughout the study, they were arranged to seat four students to a group. There was a large blackboard on the front wall of the classroom. In front of the blackboard there was a table and chair for the teacher. There was a large soft-board on the back wall on which charts made by the students were posted. The classroom had four large windows that opened on to the playground. Small windows with glass louvers high on the wall opened onto the corridor. The large windows had to be closed during the day when the sunlight reflected on the blackboard and occasionally when the noise from the playground drowned the voices in the classroom. Since the windows were

made of steel the room darkened and soon became hot and stuffy. The lights brightened the classroom but the stuffiness could not be dissipated by the four large fans.

Salma

I met Salma in 1996 when she attended the second VTP in social studies. She was an eager learner and participated actively in the program. As part of my work as a professional development teacher, I spent one day a week in Saleemullah Private School. Part of the day was spent with the graduates of the VTPs reading and discussing relevant literature, sharing possibilities and finding ways to overcome the limitations of translating their learnings into meaningful classroom practices and preparing programs for the professional development of their colleagues. Salma was part of the group. I met Salma again soon after my return to Pakistan and, on finding out she was teaching in the Cambridge section of the school asked her if she would like to participate in my research to which she readily agreed. Salma was presently teaching science but was willing to teach social studies on her own time if the head would agree. I met the head of the section a few days later. I explained that I wanted to work with Salma and asked if she would allow her to teach social studies:

> ...I am very pleased with Salma. She is eager to learn and works hard. I was going to ask her to teach full time from the new term....If you are working with her I will give her the class and also ask other teachers to come in and see what you are doing. (Fieldnotes 14-1-99)

Salma studied at a private school that catered to the lower middle class. Salma's recollection of her school experiences were entirely negative:

> The only teacher I liked in my entire school life was my class one teacher. I never liked math and science. I found myself sleeping half the time in the math class. I think my basics were not good. I was good in English and Urdu. I always got good marks in them. Drawing was my favorite subject. The school was nationalized when I was in class 6 and it became worse. The teachers would just sit on the table, read the lesson and give us questions and answers. They used to abuse us and call us names. Ms. P....., our math teacher, was very strict. She used to beat us on our shins....I always felt I was doing badly at school because the problem was with me but now I know it was because of the teaching methods used and the teacher's behavior.
>
> When we were young we did not have enough money, we lived from hand

to mouth, but from the beginning my brother was given more importance. My parents did not worry about us girls but my brother was given everything.....I think I spent a lot of time in school thinking about these problems and dreaming about a good life, lots of lights, beautiful gardens, about good things...

After Matric my family did not send me to college. For two years I stayed home and I felt useless. When my younger sister went to college I fought to be allowed to go to college also. I wanted to make something of my life. I did inter arts privately, both years in one year and I got a second division. Everyone used to tease me that I was no good at studies but when I got my inter results it was proof that I was good. I then went on to do my CT to show my friends and family that I could do it. For four to five years I really struggled, it was not an easy time. I had developed an inferiority complex and now I had to create a new image. (Conversation 5-6-99)

Salma believed she was responsible for her educational situation. Everyone told her she was no good at studies. Teachers scolded and beat her for not making an effort to acquire the knowledge they transmitted to her. She, like them, came to view knowledge as something out there, complete and waiting to be acquired, the ability or inability to acquire it an individual dilemma. Salma enjoyed drawing and daydreaming: areas in which she created her own knowledge. But no one validated the knowledge she produced and so her efforts to be validated in acquiring the knowledge out there continued. She struggled to pass her intermediate and then her CT. Her success at being able to pass indicated she was capable of acquiring knowledge and confirmed this view of knowledge. Her teacher education reinforced this image of knowledge, only moving the blame from the student to the teacher, who was unable to make the knowledge more palatable so that students would be more willing to consume it.

Salma did her CT not with the intention of teaching but to prove to herself and others she was capable of acquiring knowledge and as "training for the future." Two years after her training, she was persuaded to start teaching to become more social. She joined the primary section of a private Cambridge school as an art teacher. Because of the gap between her training and teaching, Salma did not feel confident. She appreciated the in-house training provided by professionals from the US and UK in confidence building, making her lessons interesting and involving her students in their learning:

I choose a primary school because I liked being with small children. I feared

> communicating with older students. Here I built my confidence. I also learned a variety of activities as teaching was activity based. There was also an emphasis on art as helping the child to learn to express themselves, to come out....I enjoyed teaching art to the little children and this experience inspired me to continue teaching....When I joined Saleemullah Private School and started teaching older children I found it very difficult. Most of the time I lectured. Then I would ask them questions and answers to find out if they had understood. I used to get very angry when children could not answer or did not do they work. I used to call them weak and even slap them sometimes....I usually took a test after completing a chapter. The tests and examinations consisted of questions and fill in the blanks. (Conversation 5-6-99).

Salma was introduced to the idea of art as a medium of self-expression, and she and her students became creators of knowledge. The image of knowledge, as a body of information out there that had to be acquired, was so strong that Salma did not transfer this new understanding of knowledge to other areas, confining it to art.

Salma described the VTP as "a great learning experience," an experience which resulted in her personal and professional development:

> I used to slap children and call them weak and stupid. During the VTP I realized I had been repeating what had been done to me. I became aware of the need to consider the student as a human person first and than as a student. (Conversation 7-6-99).

When Salma returned to her school she was "very scared," actually "terrified" to implement what she had learned during the VTP. She feared her colleagues' ridicule, but did gain confidence to implement some of her learnings; however, the lack of support of her colleagues and the administration made it difficult for her to continue. Salma felt hurt and blamed herself:

> In the beginning it was terrifying. I was very scared because when I talked about what I had learned I did not get an encouraging response...I gained confidence and used some of the methods, but some of my colleagues said things which made me cry later....if I had more confidence I would have been able to do what I wanted. (Conversation 7-6-99)

Salma felt more training would make her a more effective teacher. She enrolled

in the B.Ed. program in 1997 and found it valuable because it was "more comprehensive than the VTP." Salma enjoyed the psychology class, coming to understand the complexity of personality formation and, through her interactions with foreigners and people from other parts of Pakistan, became more accepting of difference:

> I liked psychology...I didn't know environment and hereditary played an important role in personality development. I think my personality has developed now due to positive environments....I met many foreigners and people from different parts of Pakistan. I observed differences in people's habits, attitudes, way of life. Before I used to get annoyed when people thought differently from me. But the training has helped me accept other's ideas, other's viewpoints. It made me realize people think the way they are and will not think like me. I have also learned respect for others over the last few years. (Conversation 7-6-99)

Salma teaches in both the Matric section and Cambridge sections of the school. She is incensed at the differences in education provided to students in different sections. To take just one instance she says, "If I want something in the Cambridge section I get it immediately. I have been asking for a globe and some maps for two years in the afternoon section and I have not got them." Salma has just been appointed head of the Matric section (classes 6-8) and is presently attending a one year, part-time Advanced Diploma in School Management (ADISM).

Salma's School -- Saleemullah Private School

Saleemullah Private School is a very old private, community-run school. It is an all boys primary and secondary composite school which operates in two shifts. Approximately 2500 students study in the morning shift and 1500 in the afternoon shift. The school is situated on a large site. It has a number of multi-storied buildings, each housing a different section of the school and large playgrounds. The school has a library, science laboratories, computer labs and a large auditorium. Resources to support teaching and learning are available, but are not evenly distributed among the sections of the school.

The organizational structure of the school is hierarchical, both in terms of administration and with respect to the different sections of the school. The principal oversees the administration of the whole school, dealing with the government, the heads

of the different sections, and parents and teachers regarding issues not satisfactorily addressed by the heads. Each section has a head who is responsible for the administration of the section and who reports to the principal. All students study the same program in their primary years; however, from class six, the school organizes and processes students into a three-tier tracking system of Cambridge, Matric, and Technical.

I worked in the Cambridge section of the school, which is at the apex of the hierarchy. The head of the section sees her role not only as administrator but academic leader and teacher. This section has approximately 250 students and 14 teachers. Only five to six teachers work full time; the rest come in only to teach a subject. The head laments this fact, as she feels the emphasis is being placed solely on academics, but acknowledges that low teacher's salaries has caused this.

Salma's Classroom

All the classrooms are rectangular, lined with rows of benches, which seat two to three students. These classrooms were designed to seat 25-30 students but now seat 40-45 students. Salma's classroom, however, had individual desks that could be arranged as the teacher wanted. Like the other classrooms, it was a large airy room with large windows on three sides. Two sides opened onto a large playground. The windows had thick blinds to keep out the sun when it hit the room. One wall was covered with a large soft-board on which students' work had been posted. On the front wall of the classroom was a large blackboard in front of which was the teacher's desk and chair. In the far corner was a cupboard, which held the students' books and other teaching materials. The classroom had four fans and many tube-lights.

PAKISTAN AND DEMOCRACY: TEACHERS' VIEWS

Prior to beginning classroom action research, I engaged the three teachers in conversation about possibilities for democracy in Pakistan. The three readily identified what they saw to be the main features of democratic society as well as the impediments to democracy in Pakistan. The conversations began with a general discussion of the meaning of democracy, proceeded to a critical assessment of the state of democracy in

Pakistani society, and concluded with how democracy might be developed and the place of education in this development.

The conversations were held in late December 1998 at the IED, AKU. Following an introduction of my research I had individual conversations of about thirty minutes with each participant. These were followed by a group conversation of about an hour and fifteen minutes on December 30, 1998.

Teachers' Understandings of Democracy and Democratic Citizenship

Initially, our conversation focused on the purely structural features of democracy, what Barber (1984) might call "thin democracy" in which citizens participation is restricted to voting. However, the teachers indicated a dissatisfaction with the system and alluded to the need for mutual deliberation in decision making and active participation in the implementation of the decisions. Anila offered the view that

> Democracy is a system of government in which people choose their representatives so that their opinions and desires are taken into account when decisions are being made. I think that each time a decision is to be taken the people must be asked their opinion first and then the decision should be taken.

Anila was expressing dissatisfaction with the system in which the only decision people made was on the choice of their representatives. She desired participatory decision-making on all major decisions. Salma agreed, noting that even though some were chosen, all were equal and therefore all should be involved in governance, not just the chosen few:

> All people are equal. If people choose a leader, the person who is chosen should not feel superior but must involve the people by asking for their ideas...they must share responsibility and work together....

Malik agreed, and emphasized freedom of expression as an essential element:

> Democracy is a system of government in which people make decisions about things that will affect them...in order to do this effectively they must have the freedom to think and express their opinions.

Comparing their understandings to the existing system, they recognized the need for changes in the system and described ways in which these changes could be brought about. Anila said, "Nothing will change until there is a change in the system." After thinking for some time, Malik suggested smaller constituencies so that people could choose representatives who would be more responsive to their needs and could be held accountable to them:

> Democracy is about peoples' participation in government. But we are 130 million people and have only 204 members in the assembly....Is it not possible for people to select a person from their own community? A person who knows their problems, because he lives in the same environment?....

Responding to my question about opportunities for discussing issues prior to decision making, he suggested active participation in governing through the creation of local associations:

> For example, in schools we have PTAs (Parent-Teacher Association) in the same way there must be small associations of literate people in each area. The government must communicate with these associations directly so they can explain their problems....During elections we have corner meetings where the people meet and talk to the person standing for elections. These should be held throughout the year.

Anila felt change would only come when the feudal system -- the taken-for-granted belief that people are unequal because of the circumstances of their birth -- was brought to an end. She and Salma both looked to education to change the prevalent feudal mentality:

> Anila: ...Nothing will change, we have to get rid of the *jagirdari nizam* (feudal system) and the *jagirdari* (feudal) mentality. We must teach people to vote conscientiously, vote for the good of the community not their own interests then things will change.

> Salma: ...I think we have to educate people, make them aware of what is happening in society so they can make the right choice. Not only through schools but through the media and through organizing meetings with people especially where there is no access to TV.

Voting conscientiously, making the "right choice," positions the citizens as transcendent beings who can rise above the social order and do as they please. The constraints of the larger social reality are ignored as are the choices available.

The conversations then turned to their own view of democratic citizenship. All the teachers shared the view that citizens in a democracy must learn, develop, and practice democratic behavior and attitudes in both the private and public spheres. By thinking this way, the teachers seem to share Aristotle's view (quoted in Barber, 1984) that democracy is "not an ideally perfect constitution, but first a way of living" (p. 117). Anila expressed it well when she said

> If we are talking about citizenship in a democratic society then we must look at the culture, the values. Are they democratic? Is the government structured democratically?...Is there a culture of democracy in the family? It is insufficient to have an elected government. Democratic behaviors and attitudes must be developed and they must be seen everywhere, in our families, in our schools and classrooms, in private and public organizations. If we have democratic citizens, democracy will follow.

In this perception of democracy as a way of everyday living, mutual deliberation plays an important role. Anila enjoined

> Democratic citizenship also means freedom to express one's point of view but also having the ability to listen and understand the other's point of view. It means knowing your rights and responsibilities and fulfilling them.

For Salma, democratic citizenship means understanding one's society and cooperating with others to act responsibly to improve society:

> I think a democratic citizen is a person who understands the society and works to make it better....A person who co-operates with others to bring change. Who takes the initiative rather than waits for others.

For Malik, rights are not about constitutional provisions but of access and protection in their exercise:

> I think democratic citizenship is citizenship in which one has the right to freely

> express their point of view without any pressure. If there is pressure, there is no democracy. When people cannot exercise their right of freedom of expression they loose their ability to think and are unable to differentiate between right and wrong.

Malik's reference to the inability for citizens to express themselves freely took us into the next theme of our conversation, namely repression of certain categories of people in Pakistani society, specifically religious and ethnic minorities, women, and people from the lower socioeconomic class. Salma opened the discussion of the issue by focusing on gender inequality. She debunked the Islamic rhetoric of gender equality and pointed to the differential treatment of individuals on the basis of gender which resulted in discrimination against girls and the preferential treatment given to boys in the provision of food, clothing and education:

> We preach equal rights but it is quite obvious that men are more dominant in our society. You can see this in the home. Parents prefer boys. They are given the best food, clothes and education. In many families girls receive no education or only a primary education....Because of this women are poor and illiterate...

Anila echoed Salma's view when she argued that, although more parents are sending their daughters to school, "they are not allowing them to make decisions concerning their own lives." She then recalled the recent case of Humaira, whose father sought the dissolution of her marriage because she had married someone of her own choice. She also noted the multiple forms of discrimination against women to the point of violence:

> In Sindh the *Waderas* (feudal lords) decide cases of *Karo Kari* (alleged sexual misconduct for which women are stoned to death)....Is this the way the government is safeguarding the rights of women? Is this equality?

Malik pointed out that Islam stipulated equality, but has been interpreted to serve patriarchal culture:

> Islam has given equality to both men and women since the last 1400 years....A woman can take *kholah* (divorce) from a man just as a man can divorce a woman....But in my opinion this never happens....Women have the right in Islam but men do not accept it....They are following pre Islamic customs...

He then noted that these self-serving interpretations were the cause of sectarianism:

> The destructive road on which we are traveling the biggest problem is sectarianism....Nowadays everyone is interpreting Islam as they please and fighting over whose interpretation is correct...

Both Salma and Anila agreed with Malik about sectarianism in Pakistani society and then turned the conversation to the unequal distribution of economic and political power rooted in the feudal system:

> Salma: ....Politically we see the party in power wants their ideas to dominate, they want complete power over others. I see this in my school, everyone wants their ideas to dominate, no one wants to listen to others. Economically, there is an unequal distribution of wealth, which leads to inequality in educational and employment opportunities.

> Anila: Things have not changed because of the *jagiradari nizam*. Economic, social and political power are in the hands of the *jagirdars* (feudal lords)....We have to do away with this system....They had this system in India also but after independence they finished it. But in Pakistan they have been land reforms but none have been effective because of the power of the *jagirdars*...

A well-known truism in Pakistan is that the feudal lords, because of their large land holdings, have both economic and political power. It is also encouraging that teachers and others in society are now talking about the need to address this stranglehold of the feudal system. The problem, though, is going from rhetoric to actual action to address the issue.

At this point, Salma turned the conversation to the growing divisiveness between the various ethnic groups that inhabit Pakistan:

> One of the things responsible for the growing deterioration of our society is ethnicity. Here we talk of Balochi, Pathan, Punjabi, Sindhi. This has become like the caste system....Students from one ethnic group won't mix with students from other groups.

Anila pointed out that ethnic divisiveness was not a new problem and had in fact led to

the secession of East Pakistan:

> ...Ethnicity was one of the main factors that led to the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan. At that time the Punjab dominated East Pakistan and was exploiting their resources....The unequal distribution of economic resources was another factor. These same factors are the cause of the fighting between ethnic groups today.

Pakistanis respond to the realities discussed above (gender inequality, religious and ethnic intolerance, class differences) in three different ways. The general response is to criticize, but accept this reality apathetically. Another response, largely of the educated class, is to migrate to where the chances to use their talents and to enjoy equality of opportunity are greater. A third response is to envision a better society, but few feel they have the agency to act to realize their vision. Personally, I feel it is important for the teachers to envision a future. Without a vision of a desired and possible future, there would be no hope to drive and sustain their efforts. This became the next theme of our conversation.

Envisioning an Egalitarian and Just Society

To facilitate envisioning the society the teachers' wanted, I had given them chapter one, entitled "On Disruptive Daydreams," of Roger Simon's *Teaching Against the Grain: Texts for a Pedagogy of Possibility* to read. However, because of their limited facility in English, none of the teachers fully understood the chapter. Therefore, I gave them the gist of the chapter and read the quote of Ernst Bloch:

> Dreams come in the day as well as at night. And both kinds of dreaming are motivated by wishes they seek to fulfill. But daydreams differ from nightdreams; for the daydreaming "I" persists throughout, consciously, privately, envisaging the circumstances and images of a desired, better life. The content of a daydream is not, like that of a nightdream, a journey back into repressed experiences and associations. It is concerned with as far as possible an unrestricted journey forward, so that instead of reconstituting that which is no longer conscious, the images of that which is not yet can be phantasied into life and into the world (p. 7)

I explained how Bloch sees daydreaming not simply as wishing for a better

society, but a critique and envisioning of a society that is not yet, but which is possible. Because the imagined is possible, there is a willingness to struggle and work to realize it. I asked them to dream of the society they wanted and would work to realize. There was a long silence. The difficulty, it seemed, was not in dreaming but, the doubt of dream fulfillment, given the constraints of the present taken-for-granted way of life and the limited range of possibilities it offered. Salma, uncomfortable with the long silence, broke it. She dreamed of a peaceful society to be obtained through education:

> I dream of a society where there is peace and security as there is a lot of terrorism these days. I think it is because of a lack of education. So I want an educated society in which people respect each other.

Anila, however, argued that peace could only be attained if there were equality and justice:

> I think justice and equality are the most important, only then can we hope for peace. People should get their rights, their rights must be safeguarded and they must be held accountable for the performance of their duties...

She then went on to point out that equality and justice must be practiced in the home and in society, for in experiencing justice, one learned to be just. However, recognizing that people will often, perhaps regularly, fall short of the ideal, Anila proposed a strong and independent judiciary.

> If we see justice in our homes, in society, we will learn to be just. But there will always be some people who are unjust, therefore, we need a strong and independent judiciary

Malik agreed with the views expressed noting people would only speak the truth if they felt secure:

> I agree with Salma security of life is important and with Anila that there should be justice...Justice is needed if people are to feel free to speak the truth, to express their point of view to others...

Salma reiterated the need for equality of the sexes for the betterment of society

and emphasized the role of education in achieving this:

> A society where men and women are equal and they work together to improve society....I think what Anila said is true. The family is where we learn to be just or unjust. But I think education can make us aware of our biases and help us overcome them.

Implicit in the teachers' vision for Pakistani society is the desire for democracy; the building of a democratic society based on freedom, equality and social justice for all. The teachers pointed to the role of education as a means of achieving such a society. And the conversation moved on to a discussion of the type of education required to fulfill this role.

Education for Democratic Citizenship

Before setting out to teach, it was imperative that the teachers thought about the content, teaching methods, student-teacher relationship and classroom environment that would prepare students for democratic citizenship. The teachers believed that democracy required citizens to have broad knowledge to understand and address the needs of society through deliberation, decision-making and collaborative effort. Malik stressed the need for students to be prepared with the skills required for deliberation and decision-making:

> The first thing is knowledge of their rights and the rights of others. The next thing we have to develop is thinking power. Then their speaking power and ability to listen to others. Naturally if they want others to listen to them, they must listen to other's views. Then they must have the confidence to express their own thoughts as well as point out the negative and positive points in what was said. They must be concerned about other's feelings, that is, they must be sensitive to others. After this there is the need for decision-making skills. If the above are developed they will be able to make decisions.

Anila felt students should undertake a comparative study of political, economic and social systems so that they could see the strengths and limitations in the present system and work to improve or change it:

> I think students must learn about the present political structure, how it has developed, what alternatives there are to it, how they are different, how power is distributed in each. The relation between the social structure, political structure and economic structure....Sometimes we must ask students what they want to know, to learn. There are many social issues and current issues students are aware of but cannot understand. They have a lot of questions, they want answers to....Malik has mentioned ability to speak to express their point of view, besides this they can use other channels like write a letter or article for the newspaper.

An animated discussion followed between Malik and Anila about where teachers would get the information required to teach about social and current issues which are usually controversial and contentious. Malik was adamant the information should be provided by the government, Anila insisted the government would never provide this type of information because "they wanted an obedient population, people who would agree with them without thinking." She suggested the use of alternative sources of information such as the newspapers, the library and the Internet.

However, for Malik, living and teaching in a resource-deprived environment, this seemed impossible. "There are no resources in my school. From where will I get them?" Interpreting their discussion, I pointed out that, for this very reason, true democracy required freedom of the press. The idea brought laughter from Malik who said, "'the *kabarnama* (news)' is popularly known as 'Prime Minister Nama,' as the entire half-hour news program is devoted to the activities of the Prime Minister...As there is no other source of information people believe what they hear." He did, however, acknowledge the written press was less controlled, but it also did not provide the information required to teach social issues effectively.

Salma also thought students should have access to the knowledge of social issues. In addition to acquisition of knowledge she recognized that inventiveness and creativity were required to address the many societal issues and problems:

> I too think students should be given the knowledge of what is happening in society and why....We need to teach them social skills so they learn how to relate to others and how to cooperate with others....They also need to learn to be creative so they can think of alternative ways of dealing with the problems...

I then posed the question relating to the type of attitudes and values that teachers

can foster in preparing students for democratic citizenship. Salma responded:

> They must learn the attitudes of co-operation, acceptance of others, and care and concern for others.

For Anila, equality was an important issue:

> Equality. Equality in the distribution and utilization of resources. Tolerance. Tolerate others and give them the opportunity to grow, for example, Muslims and Christians live together and develop together. Justice. Understand justice and raise their voice for justice.

From the above conversations it is evident that the teachers had many ideas about the type of classroom practices in which they needed to engage in to educate for democratic citizenship. However, as I will demonstrate in the next section, translating this vision into classroom reality proved to be more problematic than I had anticipated, leading us to resort to the use of action research as a means of facilitating classroom practice for democratic citizenship.

TEACHING FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP AND TEACHER CHANGE THROUGH ACTION RESEARCH

To translate his/her vision of democratic citizenship into classroom practice, each teacher chose a specific aspect of democratic citizenship to teach in his/her social studies classroom. Malik chose freedom of expression. Anila focused on how individuals can bring about change in society, while Salma concentrated on creating a cooperative learning environment and information location and gathering skills.

From the beginning I noticed clear discrepancies between their classroom practice and the visions of democratic citizenship they were seeking to promote in their classrooms. For example, Malik wanted students to discuss the rights and responsibilities of children but, in his desire to prepare students with the skills needed to use their freedom of expression, he ignored the prerequisite of knowledge about the topic under discussion. Anila appeared to supplement the curriculum rather than make educating for democratic citizenship the curriculum. My original intention to simply observe their

classes and converse weekly with them now shifted to one of participant observation through action research. In the action research I acted as facilitator, challenging and supporting the teachers to engage alternative classroom practices and reflecting on these practices and their potential for developing democratic citizenship.

As described in chapter three of this study, in action research individuals or group members identify a thematic concern or question (In this case: How to educate for democratic citizenship in social studies classrooms?), and plan actions to address the concern. During implementation, the actions are systematically observed and reflected on. Reflections on the observations consist of two processes: analyses and evaluation. Analysis seeks to make sense of processes, issues and constraints, unpack historical and ideological baggage, challenge beliefs and assumptions. Evaluation judges whether the action served its purpose, as well as suggest ways to proceed.

In what follows, I describe the problems I observed as the teachers attempted to implement their notions of democratic citizenship in the classroom and the employment of action research to embrace alternative practices to address these problems. Each teacher's individual action research will be described, followed by the reflective conversations the teacher and I engaged in to see how her/his classroom teaching had contributed to educating for democratic citizenship. This is followed by a description of the collaborative action research (all three teachers and myself) engaged in. The collaborative action research consisted of sharing learnings and developing understandings that emerged from the individual action research, collaborative planning for the next cycle based on those learnings, and a final reflection on the benefits that accrue from teachers collaborating with each other. The chapter ends with my reflections on the teachers' understandings of the nature and content of education for democratic citizenship.

Malik's Project

During our conversations, Malik expressed the belief that citizens in a democracy must be aware of their rights and responsibilities. For him a very important right was freedom of expression. Malik conceived of this right more like what Barber (1984) calls

"strong democratic talk" which entails thinking, being able to express one's ideas and opinion, listening to the ideas of others to see the strengths and limitations of their argument (and one's own), presenting counter arguments empathetically and making decisions. As planned, I was to observe his classroom to see how he translated these beliefs into practice and to have weekly conversations about how his teaching served the preparation of democratic citizens.

To facilitate the realization of his plans, Malik negotiated a change in classrooms and time. He felt the seating arrangement in his classroom did not facilitate group work so he requested the use of the laboratory. He recognized that a longer period allowed him to accomplish a lot more, so he negotiated a double lesson time (from thirty minutes to one hour) with the head of the school.

Freedom of Expression

Malik decided to teach students about their rights and responsibilities through whole class discussion during which he would encourage students to express their views. However, the lesson proved to be unsuccessful because students did not possess the background knowledge needed to participate in the class discussion. Malik, however, expressed satisfaction that a few students had the courage to respond and he planned to continue teaching this way, interpreting students' lack of response as the result of "shyness" and lack of "familiar[ity] with the style of teaching." He expected their participation to improve the next day. I agreed that may be a reason and suggested another may be students' lack of knowledge about the topic. Malik thought the suggestion plausible, but wondered where he would get the information required. No resources were available in his school.

During our reflection, we decided to embrace action research with me acting as facilitator. As facilitator, I provided copies of The Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) for Malik to use as information resources. We proceeded to translate and understand each of the rights and Malik decided to teach the rights of the child and follow it with a whole class discussion which focused on three questions: What did each right entail? To what extent are children receiving these rights?

Whose responsibility is it to ensure children their rights? In keeping with his belief that the right to express oneself entailed the responsibility to listen, Malik wanted students to learn the social skill of 'listening attentively.' Unsure of his ability to teach the skill just learned, he asked me to teach this skill.

Following this, Malik again tried to elicit the rights through questions but, receiving no response, he taught the rights to the students, explaining each one. The following day he arranged the stools in a circle for the discussion. Malik started what became a very animated discussion about the 'best interests of the child and parental guidance.' Students stated it was the responsibility of parents to care for their children. I raised the question of what would happen if parents failed in their responsibilities. Students shared different views regarding the role of the government in the private sphere, with some indicating it had no role and others a small role, since responsibilities are largely with the parents.

The students argued that they were not receiving their entitlement, because the government built schools but did not ensure quality education, built hospitals but did not supply medicines. Malik asked, "Who is the government?" followed by "What is our role as citizens in a democracy?" Students responded, "to vote," and shared different views regarding how they would decide who to vote for, such as the "need to investigate the life of those standing for election" and "vote for the candidate most likely to win."

In the next lesson, students developed criteria for the selection of a candidate and applied it by voting for Malik or Shazia. Malik asked students what had helped them make their decision. On a response that, "education helped people learn to make good decisions," he returned to the topic of rights and responsibilities, discussing their right to education, using the same questions they had used when discussing the best interests of the child. However, prior to the whole class discussion, students discussed the questions in their cooperative groups. During the discussion Malik raised questions, asked students to clarify their ideas and moved the discussion forward.

As facilitator, I observed his class and documented my observations. Malik found it difficult to engage in self-critical reflection about his classroom actions. His self-reflections were a description of what occurred in the classroom and focused mainly on

what he perceived as success in promoting students' learning, based on his feelings and intuition. We, therefore, engaged in reflective conversation immediately after each lesson (when time permitted), using my observations to support or refute claims, and we had a more detailed conversation at the end of a cycle.

During the VTP, Malik had seen teacher educators effectively eliciting participants' ideas through questioning, and this experience informed his practice. Malik did not realize that this model presupposed students' and teachers' (to a greater extent) prior knowledge about the topic. He was aware that he did not have the knowledge required to teach the topic; but he took it up, relying on his questions to provoke ideas that students would share and discuss.

Teachers like Malik, used to knowledge transmission, see themselves as the possessors of knowledge. To them, teacher educators eliciting knowledge from the participants could only indicate that they did not possess the requisite knowledge and were trying to extract it from the students. Malik did the same:

> I wanted to teach the topic like I saw...during the VTP...I faced problems while teaching this topic because I did not have information about this topic. But you helped me and the children understand this topic. I did not know the student needed information, I thought they were shy and not familiar with this style of teaching and that in a day or two they would start answering well. (Post lesson conversation 7-1-99)

In Pakistani culture, good discursive skills could often make up for lack of content on the part of the speaker. Malik shared this view. As a result, his intuitive knowledge attributed students' lack of response to his questions to shyness and lack of familiarity with the style of teaching. He did not take my word that students' inability to respond might be due to lack of knowledge. Only on receiving no response to his questions the following day, an indication that his hypothesis was incorrect, did Malik realize the need for students to have information for them to be able to discuss an issue effectively.

Malik believed that democracy required citizens to make decisions about issues that affect their lives. In a representative democracy like Pakistan, the main decision citizens make is who to vote for. Malik was very concerned when a student expressed the

idea that one should vote for the person most likely to win. He believed this lack of deliberation and conscious choice by citizens during elections was responsible for the political crises in Pakistan:

> The *Waderas* rule the people under them. They order the people to vote for them and the people do because they have taken money from them....The *Waderas* stand in the elections and are given tickets by the political parties because the political parties know they will win because they have a hold over the people of their area....The lack of careful selection by the people is the reason for the political instability in Pakistan. (Post lesson conversation 7-1-99)

This concern resulted in Malik digressing to teach students the importance of their vote and the need to choose judiciously. Willingness to digress was an indication that Malik had the research question uppermost in his mind, Malik was developing flexibility. But as mentioned before, the social realities that constrain an individual's choice were ignored.

During the end-of-the-cycle conversation, Malik was ecstatic about his lessons. He felt he was off to a good start after an initial difficulty because of his own and students' lack of information about the topic. He concluded that he had met his objectives as students understood their rights and were able to express their ideas when called upon to do so:

> Children found it very easy to understand their rights and responsibilities because it concerned their personal life, because it is part of their reality....When they were asked to give their opinions they replied very well. That's how I concluded the children understood very well what I taught them. (Post lesson conversation 14-1-99)

Freedom of expression, as Malik had pointed out, is more than speaking: it entails listening as well as empathizing and reflecting on what others say. I had taught and modeled attentive listening when the students and raised thoughtful questions and challenged ideas presented. In subsequent lessons, Malik took over this role. I referred to the observations of the two lessons to provide evidence of how he and the students were learning discussion skills. Malik was pleased I had observed how fast he and the students were learning.

Creating a Cooperative Classroom Environment

When Malik finished teaching the topic on rights and responsibilities in mid-January, he felt pressured to teach for the exams scheduled for late February. Faced with the dilemma of preparing students for the exams and teaching for democratic citizenship, he decided to teach for the exams. He chose the textbook chapter "Pakistan and the Muslim World," incorporating the map skills he had just learned in the VTP. Acknowledging the importance of preparing students for the exams, I asked Malik to consider how the content, instructional strategies and classroom environment could help prepare students for democratic citizenship. He suggested he spend four days a week teaching the textbook chapter (geography) and Saturdays on the discussion of social issues in Pakistan society. Accepting it as a way of dealing with the dilemma, I challenged him again, hoping to get him to see the limitations of the content of the chapter, and the changes required for it to serve the development of democratic citizenship. Annoyed with my questions, he reminded me "everyone has to study the same content" and to appease me decided to use cooperative groups as students would learn to share ideas and work with others. Following our discussion, he decided to create a cooperative learning environment seeing cooperation as a crucial aspect of the democratic way of life. We spent an entire day planning. We revised the concepts and skills to be dealt with, discussed their sequence and how best to teach them. We listed the elements required to create a cooperative learning environment and prepared lessons accordingly. Malik expressed a number of fears and concerns:

> How do I deal with the weaker students? How will they learn?....How do I teach so many students? Can you teach half and I teach half?....There is no large map of Pakistan, no world map in the school how will I explain?....Can you help me identify the Muslim countries on the map?....(Fieldnotes 22-1-99).

The participatory and hands-on activities we had designed, and the teacher's role in creating a cooperative learning environment, required Malik to make radical changes to the way he taught and to question the beliefs upon which his teaching was based. His current teaching was shaped by his own educational biography and teacher training which

led to the belief that students who did not learn at the pace at which he taught were weak and incapable of learning. He also believed that transmission of knowledge was the only way to deal with large classes, curriculum and examination demands and the lack of resources. He now had to confront all these beliefs about teaching in order to bring about any change in his practice.

In addition, his school lacked the most basic resources. This resulted in Malik wanting to rely on strategies such as lecture and discussion, which did not require the use of resources. His lack of content knowledge had become evident when he gave up his reliance on the textbook, therefore, he had decided to return to the textbook incorporating the map skills just acquired. Teaching from the textbook and supplementing the text with map skills gave him a sense of authority and security; but, he was filled with anxiety and self-doubt about his ability to teach them to his class of sixty-three students. As I acknowledged his concerns, discussed the assumptions underpinning them and shared ways to deal with them, Malik's anxiety decreased and when leaving he remarked that he was looking forward to teaching the topic.

With Ramzan and Eid-ul-Fitre over, the attendance increased. Rugs were put on the floor to accommodate the students. Malik began by asking students to draw a map from their home to school, followed by teaching compass directions inside and outside the classroom and conventional symbols. Students learned to draw the map of Pakistan freehand and apply the skills of directions and use conventional symbols on it. They learned the location of Pakistan with respect to its neighbors and the Muslim countries, to name and recognize the continents, to locate the Muslim countries on the world map and to study the importance of some Muslim countries. While teaching content and skills, Malik also focused on creating a cooperative classroom environment. Students learned interpersonal skills, worked cooperatively when working individually, in pairs and in groups, negotiating their roles, teaching each other, sharing their materials, and so on. Malik moved around the classroom observing, explaining, encouraging or praising.

The environment in Malik's classroom was electrifying. The enthusiasm of the students towards this cooperative, student-centered, hands-on approach to learning excited and encouraged Malik to push himself and his students even further. The roles of

teacher and student blurred as everyone moved in and out of the roles of teacher and student, and the Freirean classroom of "teacher-students" with "student-teachers" emerged (Freire, 1970, p. 67). Reflecting later on his lessons he said:

> The work that seemed very difficult before we started became easy with your help and the help of the students. The students enjoyed this method of teaching way beyond my expectations. I think it is because we adopted the method of cooperative learning which is in accord with our way of life in Pakistan. They could see that what they were learning was useful and related to their daily life, therefore, it had a greater impact on them.....I also learned a lot during this time...to recognize the different continents, identify the Muslim countries... (Post lesson conversation 5-2-99).

Malik made some very important observations. He observed that the new teaching method was effective and meaningful because it was related to the way children learn (active engagement with materials) and the way they live their lives (in community sharing with and learning from each other). In addition, students learned content (Pakistan and the Muslim World) that was useful and related to their culture and experiences. Pakistan is a Muslim country. The fact that the entire class seven textbook is devoted to the Muslim World underscores the importance the curriculum places on students understanding their Islamic identity. Pakistan's relationship with and events in other Muslim countries are regularly highlighted in the news. Knowledge of the location and information about these countries would help students better understand the news and to make judgments based on information rather than emotions which the news often provokes.

Malik recognized that the creation of a cooperative learning environment did not only facilitate students' learning but also facilitated the development of a more open and equal relationship between student and teacher. He confronted the myth of the teacher as sole authority, the subject who knows. He also confronted the myth of the teacher as disciplinarian, maintaining discipline through strict rules and keeping his/her distance from students:

> If we want to teach for democratic citizenship teachers have to modify the traditional teacher-student relationship. It is commonly believed that teachers

> should be strict, should keep a distance from their students. I think there is too much distance between teachers and students....I think teachers should talk politely, treat their students equally, cooperate with them but must retain their respect....To change my own behavior I have had to work hard. In fact in these five to six weeks I have come very close to the students. The change started when I encouraged the students to speak, when I accepted what they were saying and when I showed I had confidence in them...Now in creating a caring and cooperative environment I have seen what a difference the environment has made on me and my students. (Conversation 22-2-99)

Looking through our observation fieldnotes, we found that when assigning tasks, Malik sometimes gave students a choice, groups chose when they would make their presentations, he ensured each one presented and that each received sufficient time. His interactions with the students showed his care and concern for them. His verbal behavior was largely commendatory and accepting, only on the odd occasion did he look sternly or talk rudely to them. He encouraged students who were hesitant to respond, fearful of trying something new and reluctant to participate in discussions. He also encouraged students to be thoughtful of their colleagues by telling them to address the class, not him; by requesting students to teach students who were absent and by asking more vocal students to give someone else a chance to speak.

The observations also showed that Malik was spending some time everyday repeating the previous lesson:

> I was concerned because everyday a new student enters the classroom. I wondered how they would understand what had already been done. They couldn't just open the textbook and read it. (Conversation 22-2-99)

We then checked to see what effect, if any, Malik's efforts to create a caring and cooperative learning environment had on students' behavior. We noted that students called colleagues who had been absent to join their group, included them in group activities and taught them what they had missed. Caring and cooperation was not confined to their own group but extended to members of the class. They clapped or thumped their desks at the end of presentations, encouraged their colleagues when called on to answer (there was the occasional giggle when a student hesitated or gave the

incorrect answer) and acknowledged the help given by colleagues.

Discussing Social Problems

Malik decided to teach a social problem on Saturday. His major learning objective was to enhance students' awareness and understanding of the social problem so as to find ways to overcome it. Malik decided to show the video *Der na ho jiya* (Before it's Too Late) which depicts the environmental problems of Pakistan and the actions people take to deal with them, and follow it with discussion to elicit the problems and their solutions. He realized this activity would require more than one lesson, but Malik still decided to do it because he believed, "Citizens in a democracy need to be informed about the problems in society and see their role in solving them."

I suggested that, in addition to becoming informed about social problems, students needed to act to address the problems. Malik was surprised. "What action?" he asked. I pointed out that the best solutions if they were not translated into action were useless. Malik was surprised at my suggestion. In his own experience as student and teacher, learning had been confined to the classroom. Even in the VTP at the IED, AKU from where he got the idea of discussing social issues, they discussed possible actions but, even there, no one was called upon to engage in real action. In most educational sites in Pakistan there is great emphasis on making people aware or promoting understanding of social problems, but not on taking action based on that understanding.

Most educators have either failed to recognize this lacuna, or fear acting as if they were living in a democratic society. The result is that as a society we are used to discussing problems, coming up with grand solutions but are unwilling to take the bold steps or make the sacrifices involved in their implementation. A few days later Malik asked me for suggestions for actions students could take related to the environmental problems they were discussing. Since students were discussing garbage disposal, I suggested they clean the school-yard or the garbage piled outside the school gate.

On Saturday, succumbing to pressure from the principal (who wanted the whole school to benefit from what we were doing), Malik agreed to a request for the other section of class seven joining his class to see the video and discuss the environmental

problems facing Pakistan. The classroom was packed with one hundred and twenty expectant and excited students. The students watched the video keeping in mind two questions: What are the environmental problems facing Pakistan? What solutions are suggested to these problems? Malik elicited the problems that the students were able to explain in some detail. An hour-and-a-half later a student stood up to speak, another pulled his stool out from behind him and without hesitating the student turned around and slapped the culprit. Malik recognized the students were getting restless and quickly ended the lesson.

The next day Malik decided not to combine the classes and volunteered to teach the other class later in the day. During the subsequent lessons, students discussed the effects of the environmental problems and possible solutions. Malik asked students to put their learnings in writing, stating each environmental problem, its causes, effects and possible solutions. When I entered the classroom the next day most of the students were doing their homework. Surprised, I tried to find out why they were doing their assignment in the class, only to learn two-thirds of them worked after school with many traveling an hour to get to work and working well into the night. I was greatly humbled and my respect for the students soared. I was angered at the injustice and inequality in our society because these children came to school in the hope that education would change their status in society, but the education they received would only reproduce the existing society. I realized how important it was for teachers to know the background of their students, in this case to understand how a school practice such as homework could serve as a discriminatory practice against the students who worked.

Students shared what they had written about each problem, and a student summed it up before moving to the next. The last environmental problem discussed was garbage disposal. Sharing his view a student said, "We have a sweeper who collects our garbage in the morning and evening. We do not have garbage in front of our house, nor do we have to pick it up." Malik responded, "Can't we pick up the garbage ourselves. From today, why don't you start keeping your classroom clean? Pick up the garbage on the floor." Malik had intentionally thrown garbage on the floor. The students picked up the garbage walked to the window and threw it outside (there was no bin in the classroom).

No student asked for a bin or pointed out the need for one. The students' behavior embarrassed Malik. He had expected students not to do what they usually did with classroom garbage and he ended the lesson by telling students how important it was to act on what they said.

Malik realized that the video had provided students with knowledge; but when they related what they had seen to their own local problems, he realized that students themselves have knowledge. Having knowledge resulted in increased participation in class discussion and provided students the content needed to support their own ideas and challenge those of others. He felt his hard work in demonstrating and encouraging students to ask questions and challenge ideas had borne fruit as the discussion indicated that students were learning discussion and deliberation skills:

> I wanted to improve students' speaking power and their confidence to speak out....Before they would only speak about what they were taught but now they talked about the environmental problems of Pakistan as well as the problems they are facing in their surroundings....This means they got a lot of knowledge from the video but from the discussion I see they have knowledge also. The reason there was noise in the class was because students had ideas and were eager to share them. Due to their eagerness they were not waiting for their turn but were rushing to share their ideas. I feel in the last two months I have succeeded in making the students speak, listen and ask questions... (Conversation 22-2-99)

Analysis of the discussions revealed that practically the whole class had participated in the discussions. It also revealed that students had started supporting their ideas, asking questions, challenging others ideas, pointing out limitations in the solutions proposed and suggesting alternatives. Looking at the content of their participation, we noted some students had used multiple sentences, seen interconnections between problems, had moved from the national to the local level, seen the effects of the problems on their health and well being, and had recognized their own role, small as it was, in creating the problems and therefore in their solutions as well.

The data also revealed that, while Malik encouraged all students to participate, he was privileging some students. For example, one student was being called on, while another volunteering to answer was asked to wait or to give others a turn:

> I gave J.... many chances in the beginning but his way of answering was not good. He was just repeating sentences, even the actual point he wanted to make was not clear... he gets aggressive and the other children were getting disturbed. Whereas A.... answered properly. He gave new and relevant points and the children understood his answers well. I wanted students to learn from him. (Conversation 22-2-99)

We discussed the idea of the "hidden curriculum" (Giroux, 1983), how the meanings of our beliefs, values, behavior embedded in the content and relations in the classroom also affect students' learning. Malik was calling on students who had acquired the skills to serve as examples to the other students. He realized his responsibility to teach students the skills but believed that there were some students like J.... who would need more time.

When analyzing the content of students' written assignment, Malik expressed surprise at how much the students had written. We compared it with the writing which students had done a month earlier on their knowledge of the different provinces of Pakistan. Malik believed there was such a difference because

> That topic was boring as students have been learning it since class one and in the subjects of English, Urdu and social studies. This topic was not from their textbooks, it was new and challenging. It was challenging because they had to find solutions to the problems. Students themselves saw how national problems were related to their daily life, therefore, it had a greater impact on them. It is also because students are sharing ideas and learning from each other. (Conversation 22-2-99)

Malik seemed reluctant to go into any critical discussion of the action, so it was not pursued. I interpreted this behavior of Malik in two ways. Had he decided to have students pick up clean paper from the classroom floor rather than the garbage in the school yard or outside the school because of sedimented cultural beliefs and practices regarding the handling of garbage? In Pakistan, garbage collection is considered a dirty job, and it is usually the work of the Hindus and Christians who belong to the lower socioeconomic class. A left over from the caste system in which garbage collection was the work of the untouchables (people who could not be touched by higher castes because they were equated with dirt). Or was his behavior evidence of resistance to the authority of the expert who had suggested something he did not think was part of the work of

teaching? It had surfaced during planning when he had not responded to my suggestion that students take some action. If it was resistance, it indicated Malik was not just accepting my suggestions, thus opening up possibilities for his own agency.

Anila's Project

For her part, Anila emphasized the importance of developing democratic behaviours and attitudes such as equality, tolerance, a sense of justice, learning about the political and economic structures, rights and responsibilities and social and current issues. She also wanted students to learn communication and interpersonal skills. Anila taught social studies in classes seven and eight. For each class, three, thirty-five minute lessons were scheduled each week. As mentioned earlier, I had not planned to engage in action research, only to observe and converse with the teachers about how their lessons served the purpose of educating for democratic citizenship.

Teaching the Text (Class Seven)

This term, Anila had to teach "The Physical Features of the Muslim World," "Resources of the Muslim Countries" and "People of the Muslim World." She began with the first. She started her first lesson by asking student to recall the social skills needed to work effectively in groups. She then asked students to define the term physical features. Her hints, comparisons and the think-pair-share strategy proved unsuccessful. Annoyed, she ended the lesson by asking them to consult the encyclopedia in the library. Anila followed by having students' name, define, and give examples of each physical feature. Each group was then given a physical feature and asked to name the Muslim countries that had this feature and to state the advantages and disadvantages of the feature for the country. Anila elicited the information from each group and wrote it on the blackboard.

Relating the Text to Life (Class Seven)

Soon after this lesson, schools closed for Eid Holidays and Anila now had time to converse with me about the lessons she had taught. The conversations provided the

opportunity to discuss the use of action research in Anila's classes to enable us to learn about education for democratic citizenship and document our learning. Anila recollected how the VTP at the IED and subsequent reflections had changed her ideas about teaching and created the desire to use alternative approaches to teaching social studies in the mainly knowledge transmission model she had been used to. On returning to her school, however, she soon learned she could only make a few changes in her own classroom. Neither the structure nor practice of the school had changed. Anila, however, had not given up hope. She was quite enthusiastic about our action research intentions but questioned the possibility of ever realizing her desires given institutional imperatives and constraints such as completing the mandated curriculum and preparing students for examinations:

> I have no choice with the syllabus, we all have to teach the same syllabus because the exams are based on it. I do have a choice in methodology and I use it sometimes....I would like to go beyond the syllabus but how can I when the students don't even know the facts? I could ask them to read the textbook themselves but many students can't even read it correctly....I would like students to do a project but we need to give them time in school to do it as they do not have access to resources such as a library in the area where they live. It will take a whole month but I can give the facts in thirty minutes....The facts are part of the course, we can't ignore it. It is the base for their work in classes nine and ten. (Conversation 14-1-99)

Anila's struggles exemplified the struggle between authoritative discourses (discourses of the institution, of tradition) and internally persuasive discourses (her own desires for change, for reconstructing the educational world) (Britzman, 1991). The struggle was difficult because Anila felt she was in the struggle alone. She did not consider that other teachers might be experiencing the same struggle or that she was entering a historical struggle that included other teachers in other schools: "How can an individual teacher do it? How can I teach differently when we have one examination paper for all?" I wondered if there were possibilities of melding her vision with that of other teachers and the requirements of the curriculum to articulate communal possibilities." I noted there was one examination paper, but up to class eight, this exam was prepared by the teachers themselves. I inquired whether she had envisioned the

possibilities this offered, if she had spoken to other teachers or to the school administration:

> Yes and No. Let me tell you that I have felt the need for these changes for a long time and I wanted to tell my head teacher or my principal but I am reluctant because I don't have the confidence to share my ideas with my superiors. If you want to do these things you have to create an environment, you need to facilitate teachers, provide time, resources, training for them to do this work. For example, when I want to sit and do work that requires concentration there is no time or place. When I go home it is about six o'clock and I can't find time to do school work as I have to take care of household work as well....That is why the possibilities I see are not realized in this environment...(Conversation 14-1-99)

Our conversation revealed that Anila's desires were being constrained by contextual factors. I wondered if we should seize the opportunity provided by the research to see how some of these constraints could be addressed. Anila suggested that one way of dealing with the constraint of the syllabus was the possibility of teaching the facts first and then relating them to life. Would I help her plan so that in relating the text to life we incorporate the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed for democratic citizenship? She was teaching how internal forces (earthquakes, volcanoes) and external forces (wind, water) changed the surface of the earth. She suggested asking students what internal and external forces caused changes in society. Thinking aloud she said, "Internally, the government through its laws and people through struggles for rights and justice. Externally, the International Monetary Fund, technology." She wondered if this would be too difficult for her students to understand. She suggested looking at how the individual person brings changes in themselves and how external factors such as parents, society and peers influence them. This line of thinking made Anila aware of cultural factors that were constraining her self-development and preventing her from engaging in the educational practices that would serve to realize her vision:

> You are a Christian woman you don't have as many restrictions as we Muslim women. We can't go out alone, we have to be back by a certain time; if we are late we are asked. 'Where did you go? Why?' We can't talk to just any and everyone....The other day I mentioned the discussion we were having in my English class and at once my parents said, 'Be careful. I hope you are not getting involved in politics.' (Conversation 14-1-99)

I became convinced that we had to find ways to address the cultural, institutional and individual constraints, else teachers would find it difficult to teach for democratic citizenship. We both knew that these changes would involve very slow processes; but, rather than focusing on the constraints, we decided to explore what we could do in the classroom to prepare students to work towards such changes through democratic citizenship actions.

The best word to describe Anila's lesson that dealt with the external agents which change the surface of the earth, is "Kalashnikov," as the questions and answers resembled a burst of fire from the gun. To relate the text to life, she asked students to list the factors that caused concrete changes in the social environment. Students listed money, violence, pollution, climate, laws, and so on. Anila allocated one factor to each group and, reminding them to use their social skills, asked students to state how these factors caused a change to the environment and their role as a member of society in facilitating or hindering the change.

The following day's discussion focused on the problems caused by the gap between the rich and the poor. Students became aware that, while individual generosity was important to ensuring basic existence, the nature of the problem called for solutions aimed at changing the structures that caused this ever widening gap. I had expected the other groups would share their ideas in the subsequent lesson, but instead, Anila focused on how earthquakes and volcanoes changed the surface of the earth. Anila then started a new chapter. She used the rapid-fire question and answer strategy to deal with basic terms and categories of resources. To fulfill institutional directives and overcome time constraints she combined two chapters. Students worked in groups to name the resources and the places where they were found in the Muslim world.

Our reflections focused on how Anila's lessons served or hindered the preparation of students for democratic citizenship. The lessons where she related the text to life had made students aware of the structural nature of economic inequality in society and the negative effects it had on the social environment. It helped them realize that their proposed solutions served only as band-aids and what was needed was an alternative

system:

> Thank you for helping the students to see the need for an alternative system. I hadn't even thought of the need for an alternative system. I was very happy when the students suggested the rich should give money to the poor and when they said they wanted to help others....I have a masters degree in economics. I can explain all the terms, the different economic systems....We had to learn them....But we were not taught to critically think about our society, its economic system and suggest alternatives. (Post lesson conversation 1-2-99).

Anila disparaged the education system that had resulted in her learning isolated facts by heart rather than connecting them to actual conditions of life and teaching her to think critically about them. Her education had not prepared her to understand her society and to creatively use her knowledge to address the issues facing it. Neither her own educational experiences nor her context offered examples of the strategies that would help her realize her vision and so her struggle in learning to teach for democratic citizenship continued.

Analysis of the observations carried out in Anila's classroom revealed that she called on a few students most of the time in the classroom and on one occasion the entire lesson was spent in interaction between just her and a student:

> In this class there are two kinds of students. One from educated families, families that take an interest in the work of their children. These children work well, do their homework, participate in the class. The other children's families take no interest in their work. They do nothing at home. Therefore, you see the difference in the class. (Post lesson conversation 25-1-99)

In Pakistan, a commonly held assumption is that students from educated families and students who speak English -- which usually means they belong to relatively well-to-do-families -- perform better at school. Anila had accepted this assumption. For her it was "natural." "Their parents see the news, read the newspapers and discuss things so they are very knowledgeable" and argued her experience had proven this to be true. I referred Anila to her own experiences at the University and in the school where her lack of fluency in English deprived her of opportunities given to other teachers for professional development. I introduced her to the idea of the self-fulfilling prophecy, and recalled a

study done by Rosenthal (1991) which indicated how we prove our assumptions and they become our beliefs. This, I indicated, was not intended to lay blame but to raise consciousness of how we have acquired our beliefs, how our histories have shaped us and the need for us to be aware of and make efforts to change them.

Anila was surprised to see how much control and authority she wielded in the class. She had changed her methodology from lecturing to questioning because she felt that when lecturing she controlled everything, she was the sole authority and teaching "a mechanical act of knowledge transmission." Questioning, on the other, hand called for students' active involvement in the teaching/learning process and promoted understanding rather than memorization:

> The reason for having them come up with their own ideas is my belief that students are not empty vessels that I have to fill....If they come up with their own ideas, it means that they are understanding and if they understand they can explain and won't have to learn by heart. (Conversation 16-2-99)

In actual fact, Anila had not changed her practice. Instead, she had found a way of teaching that allowed her to cover rapidly large amounts of material in a short time and gave the illusion of students' active participation in their learning. In this method, Anila asked questions which asked students to regurgitate textbook knowledge. Students provided the facts in short sentences, phrases or one-word answers. Anila did not ask students to explain in greater detail, did not probe their responses and rejected outright students misconceptions or alternative constructions. If students hesitated her questions became so specific as to put answers in their mouths.

During these lessons about a third of the class or more talked among themselves, did homework or sat the time out. Anila controlled the errant students by sternly calling the names of students talking, calling on them to answer questions or taking away their notebooks.

Anila wanted students to come up with their own ideas, to promote understanding rather than rote memorization, but her practice subverted her goal. However, in lessons where the text was related to life, Anila asked questions which called on students to reflect on their own experiences and to construct knowledge based on these experiences.

The methodology resembled discussion as Anila asked fewer questions and students shared their ideas, agreed or challenged the ideas presented and responded with evidence to support their ideas or incorporating the ideas into new constructions of knowledge. There was little need for control as students actively participated in the discussion not as consumers of received knowledge but as active constructors of new knowledge. Anila then made the following observation:

> You know I don't want to spend much time controlling students because I don't think for us to teach or for students to learn it is necessary for students to sit quietly. They should talk, they should move and I don't think we should be strict and try to control them....But I see I am controlling students when I am asking them for facts. The exams are very near and they need the facts to pass their exams. They, however, are not paying attention because they know the facts are in the book and all they have to do is memorize them for the exams. (Conversation 16-2-99)

Anila did not want to control her students yet her practice indicated that she was controlling them. Control was so much part of her personal life, her educational biography and her teaching experience. She desired to give her students freedom, but her behavior was influenced by her history and context. Anila had learned the power of control when she was a monitor in primary school. Her own teachers had been extremely controlling to the point of regulating not only ideology but their students' bodies as well. These experiences were reinforced in her present context.

Anila learned that to be a successful teacher means to be in control. In an earlier conversation, she had proudly stated, "The school administration knows I will be able to handle the difficult students so they are sent to my class." It was common practice for the principal to walk the corridors of the school, standing for a few minutes near the window of a classroom. This surveillance, she felt, was used to make judgments about teachers thus putting more pressure on her to be in control at all times.

In her personal life, her parents, fearing she might misuse her freedom, put controls on her by insisting she be home by a certain time, not go out alone and so on. Through our discussion, Anila became aware that her students' behaviour, like her own, was resistance to control. She too had given up studying, stood up to her teachers in

school, used the freedom of college and school to pursue her own self development and growth. She complained about the control exerted by the principal: "I don't like the way he looks through the windows. He should ask to come in and sit in the class. On these short observations he will make judgments about the teachers."

Anila recognized how her own history was being reenacted in the classroom. Here, she was the teacher, exerting control to ensure her students learned, while the students resisted her control. She was unconsciously enacting in her classroom the very ideas she believed kept herself and thereby her students from realizing possibilities for self-development and growth.

Teaching the Text (Class Eight)

The textbook of class eight focuses on the world. This term students in Anila's class would study "The Major Climatic Regions of the World," "The World of 2000 AD" and "The United Nations." Anila started with The Major Climatic Regions of the World. Her introductory lesson was a copy of her class on Physical Features in class seven. Most of the lesson was spent on students defining the terms, climate and weather. She then drew a circle to represent the earth and drew the main lines of latitude to show the major climatic zones. She followed this with elicitation of the factors that affect climate and assigned groups the task of finding out more about the climate, vegetation, animal life and minerals of a climatic region. Students continued working on their assignment in the next lesson, sharing notes made from the text or copied from other texts, in preparation for their presentations. Group presentations followed in which every member of the group contributed to the presentation.

Studying a Social Issue (Class Eight)

In class eight, Anila had completed the material in the text. She decided to relate the text to life by taking up the issue of the people's role in environmental degradation and its consequences. Anila selected articles from the newspaper such as: *Environmental Terrorism* (on the disaster of the Gulf war to all living creatures of the region and beyond) and *A Disaster in Making* (on the increasing air pollution of South-East Asia caused by a combination of drought, deliberate burning of land and explosive economic

growth). The articles were difficult, so she decided students would work in cooperative groups to read, understand and explain them. We also prepared questions to guide their reading and facilitate their presentation.

Anila complained she was unable to find similar material on Pakistan. I provided her with two videos: *Greening Our Future: Pakistan's National Conservation Strategy*, depicting the environmental problems of Pakistan and what needs to be done at the governmental and local level and *Before it's Too Late*, on the effects of environmental problems on people and how the people organized themselves in two different parts of the country to take actions to deal with them. Students would see the videos and discuss them. I suggested students be encouraged to take action. Anila decided to have students take action based on their suggestions.

Anila gave a brief introduction to each newspaper article and ensured a fluent reader was in each group before distributing the articles. A hush descended on the classroom as students read. I observed a group in which each student read a paragraph (occasionally asking me about a word) and explained what they had read to the group members. Anila moved from group to group providing meanings of difficult words. Each group presented a summary of the article followed by clarifications and questions.

In the discussion, the students were quick to point out that people were responsible for environmental degradation. Anila helped them see that being responsible for the degradation, they could improve it as well. The plan for students to watch a video did not materialize as the video cassette recorder (VCR) promised to replace the one stolen had not arrived. Anila took the opportunity to complete the syllabus. Students discussed what the world would be like a hundred years from now. Students envisioned a computerized and robotized developed world and greater poverty and misery in the developing world. The students answered the end-of-the-chapter questions in their notebooks. Through questions, Anila had students list the aims and objectives of the UN and name and describe the work of its different organisations and agencies. In keeping with her beliefs, while discussing the formation of the UN in 1945, she explained in some detail capitalism and socialism.

Having completed the syllabus, Anila returned to the environment. The promised

VCR still had not arrived. Both students and teacher were disappointed. I dashed over to a friend's house and brought a VCR. The students watched the video intently recoiling at the sight of the filth being dumped in the rivers and excitement when the village of one of the students in the class was shown. The viewing was followed by an animated discussion of the environmental problems. Anila referred to the examples of actions people had taken to address the problems and asked why they had been included. The students responded, "We have to do something about the problems" and "Together we can do a lot."

Highly motivated to act, students suggested they participate in the ongoing tree plantation campaign, make compost or participate in a signature campaign to prevent the conversion of two parks into parking lots. Students pressured Anila but noticing her reluctance sought my intervention. Their pressure resulted in Anila seeking and receiving the head's permission. Students were prepared for the action, went out and got the signatures. The topic ended with reflections on the action and learnings that accrued from their study of the topic. In our reflective conversation Anila first focused on the reading difficulties of the students, which militated against using materials other than the textbook:

> If there was only one difficulty we would overcome it but you deal with one and another arises (referring to using materials other than the textbook but these being too difficult). It is so difficult to find materials suitable for our students. (Post lesson conversation 28-1-99)

I referred to my close observation of a group that indicated students had difficulty understanding only a few words. Anila had been providing the meanings of difficult words too. She realized that students would have been greatly facilitated in understanding the articles had they been provided with the meanings of the difficult words. After the next lesson, Anila was pleasantly surprised to see how well the students summarized the articles and presented them in spite of their difficulty. She was proud of her students but, not wanting to take credit for her students' improvement, she put this success down to their wanting to impress me:

> Today they have done a really good job of summarizing the articles. They have taken a lot of interest in their work. They have prepared well because they know you are here. You have had a good influence on them. (Post lesson conversation 30-1-99)

Anila knew the articles were difficult and that many of the students' literacy skills were not up to it. She therefore prepared questions to guide their reading, gave an introduction to each article prior to the reading, had students read in their cooperative groups and ensured a fluent reader was present in each group. She was making every effort to ensure students success. She had been in the same position as her students. She had studied in Urdu and struggled with understanding materials and lectures in English at the university. To cope with the challenge, she sat with her friends to make sense of what they were learning. She had proposed the same for her students. However, she realized more was required of her as a teacher if students were to be successful. The workload she already had made this difficult, and Anila thought it was more realistic to have good materials in Urdu because it facilitated understanding and participation for all students:

> The students really paid attention to the videos because they were in Urdu. They could understand everything. We should have more videos on other social issues in Urdu...Every student was active in the discussion and it showed they understood the environmental problems at the national and local level. They realized that they are responsible for the way things are and they have the responsibility to change them. (Post lesson Conversation 9-2-99)

Anila had students come up with practical and feasible suggestions, and the videos had shown positive results of peoples' actions. Motivation among the students was high but Anila did not indicate bringing their plans for action to fruition. The students approached me asking me to add my plea to theirs. When I informed Anila of the students' motivation to act, she expressed concern about the action interfering with their preparation for the exams. However, this concern hid her fears of not receiving permission from the head and not knowing how to proceed should she receive permission:

> There is no time now. The students are busy preparing for their exams...The exams are so near I don't think Mrs. M..... will give permission....I want the

> students to take some action but I don't know which action they should take and how to go about doing it. (Pre lesson conversation 16-2-99)

We discussed the process, time and effort required to take each action, and I offered to teach her class so she could meet with the head to get permission for students to take the action as only a week of teaching time remained. In the meeting with the head, Anila had taken the opportunity not only to request permission for the action but had also shared changes she thought needed to be made to the teaching of social studies in the school:

> Mrs. M..... gave us permission...I also told her what I wanted to do in the new term in social studies. I told her we can develop the textbooks so that we are not just teaching facts but social issues as well....I told her we need a change in the examination paper because presently in the examination papers we only ask students to write facts. For example, we ask, 'What is the UN? What is the role of the UN?' We never ask how is it fulfilling its role? (Post lesson conversation 16-2-99)

Anila recognized that making these changes would require changes in the structure of school to provide time for teachers to work collaboratively:

> The problem with trying to change is that there is no time for teachers to work together, to observe each other's teaching. The teachers' workload is too much and all the time the school is trying to reduce the teaching staff....We have too much to do -- check students' copies, take monthly tests, make reports. (Post lesson conversation 16-2-99).

Anila and the students learned that persistence pays off. They learned first-hand that, in a democracy, what one wants must be struggled and fought for. Through their action they learned how to involve others in action for change, found that people have different perspectives on an issue, the reason why people are so slow to act, and most important, that small groups of people can bring about change. Anila was thrilled with the result of the action and the learnings that had accrued for her students and herself. She began to see the possibilities that teaching and learning like this opened up in preparing students for democratic citizenship, bringing about change in the practice of schooling and in the larger society as well. "This is how social studies should be taught. Students must learn but also act on their learning if we want to prepare them for

democratic citizenship." Anila continued reflecting on what she had done for a few days, and later she said:

> I have been thinking and have realized that there is no need to ask students a question on environmental issues in the exam. Why get them to memorize it? We know and they themselves have said they have learned a lot from reading the articles, seeing the videos and now engaging in action. They have learned, that's enough. (Conversation 22-2-99)

Anila was pointing out an alternative way of assessing students. The students did most of the work in cooperative groups, while Anila had been keenly observing them. They had made class presentations based on their reading, engaged in small-group and whole-class discussion and now taken an action, all of which could have been recorded and used for the purposes of evaluating students.

Salma's Project

In Saleemullah Private School, all students study the same curriculum until class five. At the end of their fifth year, students desirous of joining the Cambridge section of the school sit for a competitive exam with students from other schools. Candidates who score well on the tests are admitted to class six in this section. Salma was teaching this class and this curriculum for the first time. In Cambridge schools, students study the disciplines of history and geography. As Salma began teaching later than the other teachers, I worked with her using action research right from the beginning.

Creatively Interpreting the Curriculum

Salma believed that democratic citizens must serve as change agents. To become change agents they needed to be well-informed about what was happening in society and why. They also required good interpersonal skills and the values of cooperation and respect. Salma, constrained by her context, decided the best way to achieve these was to start with history. She wanted to make history interesting and was aware that, like herself, students found history boring because it entailed memorizing dates and events. She did not think of the teaching of history as engaging in transformative critique -- of

questioning the naturalness of the way things are, of how they got to be this way and in what way might changes be desirable. We discussed these aspect of history teaching and I could see Salma was having difficulty with these ideas and decided to introduce them to her in the context of specific lessons. In keeping with her belief of what democratic citizenship required she decided to teach information location and gathering skills and to create a cooperative learning environment.

Following introductions Salma proceeded with discussion of the importance of working cooperatively and teaching students the skill of active listening. In the next lesson she revised the skill of listening actively and asked students to think-pair-share what is history and why history is learned. Students were reluctant to share their ideas with their partners and appeared confused by the request. Using a timeline, she shared her history with the class and asked students to do the same. She summed up the lesson, pointing out that we are historical beings and different because of the different events in our lives.

Students, the following day, listed the different sources from which they could learn history, the information that could be gathered from each source and the strengths and limitations of each. Students traditionally see the textbook as the only source of knowledge, so Salma introduced them to other sources first. She had Marium Bi come and talk about her life in India prior to partition, her journey to Pakistan after partition, and life in the early days of Pakistan. There was total silence during the presentation, followed by a flood of questions. The following day, students' reflected on what they had learned, pointing out that the perspective Marium Bi presented was quite different from the textbook version.

Salma built on this and pointed out that we see events from our own perspectives and the need to think critically about what we hear and read. The next lesson focused on learning history from historical pictures of international and national events and their influence on our lives today. Salma moved to teaching students how to locate and gather information. She took students to the library to learn how the library is organized and its lending policies. Students learned to locate and gather information from a textbook through exercises of increasing difficulty. Salma created a caring and cooperative

classroom environment, and encouraged and praised students' efforts to work cooperatively with their partners.

Salma's actions in the classroom clearly revealed her efforts to create a caring and cooperative classroom environment in which all students were treated with dignity and respect, and in which they were encouraged to do the same in working with each other. Salma was determined to provide her students with experiences she had not had as a student and which resulted in her developing an inferiority complex that she had struggled for many years to overcome. She treated all students with respect and showed care and concern for them. But changing practices (her own or students) was not easy. Salma put students to work in pairs but asked them to "be quiet like a good class." Her students were used to working individually and competitively and did not want to share their ideas with their partners. Recognizing this, Salma decided to let them work in pairs. "Students are finding it difficult to share their ideas with their partners. I have decided to let them work in pairs now and later move them into small groups."

Salma saw Marium Bi's sharing of her experience as useful for supplementing and counteracting the information in the textbook. The textbooks had served to hegemonically fix meanings of the events leading to and of partition. While such a text may have performed desirable functions in leading to the creation of Pakistan and in developing a "Pakistani identity," it now served discrimination and violence. Salma wanted students to question the traditional and dominant interpretation of history and replace it with Marium Bi's version, seeing this as more realistic:

> I observed the students were attentive and completely absorbed when listening to the story of partition in 1947 from Marium Bi who was a part of these important events....One extraordinary thing about this meeting was the students got to know the true history as the textbooks usually give false information especially about partition....I think none of this would be possible without the support of Mrs. H..... who cooperated in every way... and also asked Marium Bi to them talk to the students of class nine. (Post lesson conversation 14-2-99)

Our discussion led Salma to see Marium Bi's version as another interpretation of the events based on her experiences and to see the interpretive and perspectival nature of history.

Salma was very conscious that her classroom practice was being facilitated by support from the head of the school. The head of the school had provided her with a bigger room and suitable furniture so she could do group work, gave permission to bring in a guest speaker, and acknowledged the value of such a practice in asking for the guest speaker to speak to another class. The principal also gave her permission to scan the historical photos she needed and had them sent to her. While Salma appreciated and acknowledged this support, it made her aware of how schools function to provide differential forms of schooling to different classes of students so as to maintain the status quo:

> You know when I want something for the Cambridge section I get it right away and I get the best. But I have been asking for maps for the afternoon section for the last three years and have not got them....Most of the time we are favoring, giving preference to the rich when we can give a good education to all. Now I know how schools serves to keep people at their own level...(Conversation 24-2-99)

COLLABORATIVE ACTION RESEARCH

While engaged with the teachers in their individual action research projects, a number of critical incidents occurred. For example, Anila felt she was alone in the struggle to improve teaching and learning in her school and in using her social studies classroom to teach for democratic citizenship. After being criticized by her colleagues for bringing Marium Bi to talk to the students, Salma expressed the need to "provide opportunities for teachers to work together" as one teacher could not "bring change in the whole school."

Reflecting on these incidents, I realized that although the teachers had become very resourceful, they knew it would take more than an individual teacher's resourcefulness to change the institutional forces constraining them. I thought the teachers might be greatly served by engaging in a collaborative action research project. I was convinced the power of action research lies in its participatory and collaborative nature in which the participants not only engage in the intellectual work of the four

phases of planning, acting, observing and reflecting, but share in the way the "research is conceptualized, practiced and brought to bear on the life-world" (McTaggart, 1997, 28).

The three teachers and I decided to undertake a collaborative action research project. The teachers were already aware of each other's projects, having come together for the initial conversations. The question of how to educate for democratic citizenship was already a shared concern among the teachers and they were committed to preparing students for democratic citizenship and reflecting on their efforts to inform future practice. The teachers were eager to participate in the collaborative effort to experience how teachers could work together to bring about change, which they recognized was difficult to do in the present system in which teachers worked in isolation. I also wanted the teachers to conceptualize the action research process so that the theory-practice, expert-practitioner distinctions were blurred and they would have power and control over the process and project so that they could continue researching and improving their practice even after I would have departed from their schools.

To begin working collaboratively, the teachers and I came together at the completion of the individual action research projects to engage in two reflective conversations to analyze how their classroom practice had served the preparation of democratic citizenship. After discussing their classroom practices the conversations took a creative turn with teachers reconceptualizing the teaching and learning of social studies. These conversations took place on March 9, at Saleemullah Private School, and on March 13, at the IED, AKU. Each conversation lasted for approximately two hours.

Reflective Conversations on the Teachers' Individual Action Research Projects

We started our conversations by revisiting the teachers' vision for creating a democratic society in Pakistan, understandings of democracy and the type of education required for democratic citizenship (the reader should recall our very first conversation at the beginning of this chapter where the teachers had discussed these issues). I asked the teachers to discuss how their classroom practices contributed to the achievement of their vision. Malik was the first to explain his reasons for employing discussion as a teaching strategy to achieve his goal of teaching for democratic citizenship:

> I wanted to improve their speaking power. I wanted to build students' confidence to speak....That is why I didn't stop any student during our initial discussions. Even if he was saying something wrong I allowed him to speak which encouraged him.

Malik recognized that confidence is developed in a supportive environment. He decided to accept and encourage students' efforts to speak before developing their discourse skills. In addition to students' self-expression being important to development of democratic citizenship, understanding of social issues was also important to Malik:

> We discussed the environmental problems in Pakistan so the students understand what is happening in their society and be able to courageously say this is wrong but also be able to appreciate the good things in society...

Malik thought that in a democratic society compassion and caring for others are important values:

> I believe that in educating for democracy we must teach students to help and care for others...In asking students if they had received their entitlement I was making them aware of injustice and the need to bring people together to unite and raise their voice for justice.

Anila shared with us how she had taught the same issue explaining the activities students engaged in. She concluded:

> Through the newspaper articles and videos students became knowledgeable about the environmental issues but more important they saw how these issues affect them and were motivated to act and took part in a signature campaign. I think they now have first hand experience of being democratic citizens.

Salma, impressed with what Anila had done, asked how she had thought of the ideas and managed to accomplish them. Anila explained that the textbook excluded the relationship between people and climate. Seeing this limitation she had gone on to procure some newspaper articles, while I had provided videos which depicted the relationship between climate, human activities and environmental destruction, to supplement the textbook. In this way she explained she had been able to teach the

required syllabus as well as address the environmental responsibility of citizenship in a democracy:

> In our textbooks no social issues or current issues, issues related to our life are discussed...I deal with these issues because I want my students to know what is going on in society. I found articles in the newspaper about other countries but couldn't find material on Pakistan. I complained to Bernadette that when we want to go beyond the textbook we can not find suitable materials so she provided me with two videos.

Anila continued explaining that she had managed to teach like this by borrowing time from other teachers:

> I was worried about how I would complete everything planned. But because it was the end of term and many teachers had completed their syllabus I asked to take their periods and used them.

For Salma, teaching for democratic citizenship entailed the creation of a caring and cooperative environment because "many teachers don't think this is possible in our classrooms since students are not accustomed to such an attitude." She wanted to see if she could "create a classroom where there is no scolding, beating and punishing students." For her these behaviors are "more suitable to preparing students for dictatorship than democracy." She valued cooperation because of the opportunities it provides for equality, participation, mutual respect and the ability of everyone to make a contribution:

> I wanted a cooperative environment because I believe everyone is equal, no one should be considered weak or dull, there should not be one leader but everyone should become a leader.

Knowledge is important to full participation in a democracy. Therefore, Salma in her social studies class linked current issues with their historical antecedents, not only to bring the dynamic character of history as a subject, but also to illuminate the origins of some of the current issues that play out in Pakistani society and the diverse interpretations people give to these events:

> Students always found history boring I just wanted to make it interesting...but when we were planning I learned it is important to show how the past influences how things are today and that there are many perspectives from which every event can be viewed. I think this is very important for democratic citizens because they must take other perspectives into account.

With Anila, the constraints to teaching for democratic citizenship emerged much more than it did for the other two teachers:

> When I first started all I could see were the difficulties. I had to complete the syllabus as the exams were coming....Resources were unavailable to teach the way I wanted to for democratic citizenship. When I got the resources there was no time, I had to borrow time from other teachers to complete what I had planned, complete the syllabus and check students copies....There was too much work but it was satisfying. I have learned a lot and so have the students.

Malik and Salma both agreed with Anila that, while teaching like this was exhausting, it was very satisfying. Salma remarked, "I feel the same way you do." Malik lamented the lack of resources, especially their availability in Urdu, which made it difficult for him to acquire information for himself and his students:

> My problem is resources. There are no libraries in government schools to get information from other sources and it is very difficult to find resources in Urdu.... Teachers lack awareness of local, national and global issues because they do not have access to information.

The other two constraints discussed in our conversations were time and space to do the activities that would lead to the achievement of their goal to teach for democratic citizenship. However, with the support of the school heads, both these constraints had been addressed:

> Salma: One thing I want to mention is the great support I got from the head. Mrs. H..... cooperated in every way. She gave me a large room and easily movable furniture when I told her I wanted students to work in cooperative groups.

> Malik: When we asked the head for more time he said, 'You can teach the whole day. You are doing new things. The children are going home and telling their

> parents. Their parents are coming to ask us. I have asked the deputy head and teachers who are free to come and observe you...I want the school to become a good school.'

Our conversation then turned to a discussion of alternative understandings of social studies to prepare students for citizenship in a democracy. All three teachers agreed that social studies is the "study of society" with a view to understanding society and making it better. However, while Salma and Malik listed disciplines and topics, Anila stressed the "study of social issues" because "they draw on all the disciplines." Salma agreed, saying: "To understand one issue well, we will have to seek information from many branches."

Malik wondered how he would teach social issues given that the current textbook contained "no current information...and no information related to the issues affecting our life." A long discussion followed in which the teachers critiqued the textbooks for being "biased" (Anila and Salma), "only providing information that will develop patriotic Pakistanis" (Salma), "repetitive"(all three) and "showing a positive picture of everything" (Malik and Anila). Later, Malik himself pointed to how the textbook could be used to have students compare the positive picture painted therein to reality as a way of motivating them to act to improve society:

> I think we must have students compare the content of the textbook with what is happening around them. They will ask why the difference and realize that to eliminate the difference they will have to make some efforts. We have to develop in them the desire to find out why things are the way they are and think of what can be done to change them....

While Anila acknowledged the usefulness of this comparison, she felt it was insufficient and suggested expanding this comparison with what was happening in other countries:

> I agree with Malik but I think they should compare the political, economic and social systems of other countries with Pakistan's to see if there is any way to improve their own society....

She then went on to express the need for an issues-based social studies curriculum, for

teaching students not only interpersonal skills, but also analytical and critical thinking skills and to encourage students to take action:

> Social studies must become the study of social issues. Now we teach subjects not issues. When we discuss an issue we have to look at all aspects, the economic, the historical, the political, all are integrated... Besides communication and interpersonal skills I think democratic citizens need analytical and critical thinking skills...They must also learn to act like the signature campaign or write an article in the newspaper or a letter to share their opinion.

This aspect of our conversation ended with Anila acknowledging the important role of teachers in the change process:

> To implement these suggestions will require more effort, struggle and enthusiasm from the teachers, otherwise it will not happen.

The conversation then moved from a focus on content and skills needed for the development of democratic citizens to the methods needed to teach the content and skills. Teaching methods suggested by the teachers for this purpose included, discussion, cooperative learning and drama focusing on how these would facilitate development of democratic citizens and result in more democratic classrooms. Salma, for example, valued discussion because:

> Students not only get more knowledge about the subject but they learn to respect others' views and get more confidence in expressing themselves.

For Malik, drama in the form of role-play would poignantly bring out important social issues that needed to be addressed in his social studies classroom, while discussion would provide a forum for students action plan:

> First dramatize an issue, follow it up with discussion on the reasons for it and possible solutions so that students see the need for action right away...

For Anila, cooperative learning was an effective vehicle through which students could learn individually and in groups. It also served to develop a democratic classroom as teachers shared authority and were less controlling:

> When using cooperative learning the teacher only has to ensure the students understand the task and are on task. She doesn't have to shout at them, ask them to listen to her or to pay attention every two minutes as when she lectures. When we ask questions students do not hesitate in answering. The teacher therefore, doesn't have to punish, beat or use *galat alfaz* (bad language)....I think as students get used to working like this we must give them the opportunity to plan, do and assess themselves...

Salma recognized that by using the methods identified above teachers would show more care and concern for students, a teacher attribute that is sadly missing in Pakistani classrooms:

> Many teachers think showing care and concern for students is not applicable in their class because the students are not accustomed to such behaviour and attitude and only understand when they are scolded or beaten...Other teachers feel it is not acceptable in our culture.

While Salma acknowledged caring as attentiveness and empathy with students was desirable, she recognized that any physical expression, especially when teacher and student were of the opposite sex, was deemed inappropriate in Pakistani culture:

> I teach boys of class ten. If I sit like this (moves close to Anila) with a student, I don't think society will accept it.

Our conversation ended with a reflection on assessment practices in the social studies classroom that consisted of mainly paper-pencil tests aimed at testing student knowledge of factual information. To confront this assessment issue as it relates to teaching for democratic citizenship, Anila proposed an alternative system of assessment that received the approval of both Salma and Malik. Anila said:

> Students' knowledge should be assessed by having them do different assignment throughout the year. Besides knowledge, their communication skills, participation in small group and whole class activities and behavior and attitude towards others should be assessed.

Anila's proposal raised the issue of the type of criteria teachers might use to assess students' knowledge in the areas she had mentioned. I felt this was an important issue in

a context in which teachers only test for factual information. In the spirit of teaching for democratic citizenship, all the teachers believed such criteria should be identified and negotiated between the teachers and the students.

Collaborative Planning

Following the reflective conversations the teachers and I came together to engage in collaborative planning. We came together for two planning sessions, each lasting for about three hours. The first session was held in the Kiva at the IED on March 20 and the second at my home on March 25. Reviewing our conversation on the alternative understandings of social studies to teach for democratic citizenship, the teachers decided to teach critical thinking skills and have their students engage in an inquiry as a way of studying a social issue. We then developed an action plan in which the teachers would teach critical thinking skills of distinguishing between facts and opinions, detecting bias and determining the reliability of a source to their students. The students would then explore an inquiry question using these skills where necessary. For Malik's students the question was: "Why are girls not educated in our community?" Anila and Salma's students explored the question: "Why is there child labor in Pakistan?"

Below, I provide brief descriptions of what occurred in each teacher's classroom and the elements of collaboration in their action research.

Malik's Classroom

Malik taught students to distinguish fact from opinion. Using their history text and through a variety of activities students learned to identify facts and opinions, and recognize facts that were overstated and opinions written as facts. During this process students' claims such as, "Our elders always tell the truth, I have never heard lies from their mouths" and "Books are written by our elders so that when we read them we will learn the facts from them" were challenged. They learned to detect biases in newspaper advertisements and then in their textbooks. To introduce students to the inquiry process Malik had students inquire into the favorite TV program of students in the school. Students learned to hypothesize, collect data, analyze and synthesize the data collected

and present it in the form of a graph. The students then engaged in an inquiry into the social problem of: "Why are girls not educated in our community?"

While the students' educated guesses showed their awareness of economic and cultural impediments to girls' education in their community, their sexist comments indicated they shared the cultural beliefs. They had also come to accept the cultural belief that the aim of education for men was the preparation for employment; therefore, they did not recognize the value to women's education for their personal development, but saw their education as useful only because it would serve community and national development. The students suggested the best way to collect data would be to interview the girls and their parents. In cooperative groups they prepared questions for the interviews. We worked to convert the mainly closed questions to more open questions and had students' practice interviewing each other before conducting the actual interviews. Students conducted the interviews and discussed the data collected. The data supported three guesses of the students: lack of facilities (only a girls primary school in the area), economic reasons (no money to transport girls to school far away) and cultural reasons (more important for girls to learn skills valuable for marriage, fear of sexual impropriety and resultant loss of respect for the family).

Malik asked students to think of what they could do given the result of their inquiry. They suggested upgrading the primary school on a self-help basis through the *Anjuman* (community organization), requesting the government to upgrade the primary school and by educating the community. They decided to write letters to the *Anjuman* and the government. The students presented their application to the President of the *Anujuman* at a PTA meeting held at the school to decide on a school development plan and mailed the other application to the Secretary of Education.

Anila's Classroom

In Anila's classroom students learned to distinguish fact from opinion and practiced the skill using their textbook. For detecting bias, Anila discussed the news on different news channels and had students look for biases in newspaper advertisements and in a written text. In order to facilitate students learning cooperatively, Anila had students

discuss the advantages and disadvantages of working cooperatively. The greatest disadvantage was the students' desire for leadership. Students proposed dealing with this disadvantage by "electing a leader," "rotating leadership" or "holding all members responsible and accountable for their work." Anila introduced students to inquiry by taking them through the steps while inquiring into their favourite TV programme. Students guessed, found out and presented their findings through a graph. Anila then went to the inquiry question: "Why is there child labour in Pakistan?" Students hypothesized the reasons for child labour as being poverty, adult unemployment, no social welfare system, and so on. To answer their questions they watched the documentary film *The Carpet*, read newspaper articles and material from the *The State of the World's Children Report* (1997) and went to a *basti* (slum) to interview working children. The *basti* experience brought the inquiry to life for the students and for Anila. The students had some difficulty in answering the inquiry question as the question did not lend itself to a right answer. Students realized there were many reasons for child labour in Pakistan and began to see the connections between the factors that are responsible for child labour. The students recognized the issue had to be addressed at several levels, ranging from giving money and clothes, teaching the children to become critical thinkers so they can change their situation, educating people about child labor through drama and writing letters and articles in the newspaper to pressurize the government to act. The students acted on the last two.

Salma's Classroom

Salma too dealt with fact and opinion like Anila and Malik, but unlike them she had students discuss what they thought the biases of the writers of different texts may be given who they are and what they want students to learn from the text. Salma proceeded with an inquiry into the favorite TV program of all class six students in her school. First, students formed hypotheses about class six students' favorite TV programs after which Salma sent them to collect data among other class six students. The findings did not correspond with their hypotheses, so Salma pointed out the importance of engaging in inquiry to check one's guesses. Students then engaged in an inquiry into child labour.

Salma used the documentary film *The Carpet* as a springboard to trigger questions that would lead to serious investigation of the issue. The film showed children from as young as 4 years old working from sun up to sun down making carpets and the work of the Bonded Labor Liberation Front to seek the release of these children. For many students the fact that some children lived like this was incomprehensible. Students bombarded Salma with questions after the film and proceeded to answer them by reading articles from the newspaper and from *The State of the World's Children Report* (1997) on child labor, and by interviewing working children in a slum and auto repair workshops. Prior to conducting the interviews the students prepared an interview schedule. In reflection on their visit students generally compared their lifestyle with that of the children and expressed a desire to act to improve the situation of these children. Students spent the following days answering their questions and presenting their learnings through role plays in which they depicted the realities of working children and ways in which this issue can be addressed. The head attended the students' presentations.

Conversations about the Collaborative Action Research

The purpose of the teachers' collaborative action research was to help them (and me) understand collaboration itself and what it means to collaborate to bring about change. Collaboration, therefore, became our focus in these conversations, though new learnings which had occurred during the teachers' inquiry projects also emerged in our conversations. I shall first discuss collaboration as it emerged for the teachers during their action research projects. I began the conversation by inviting the teachers to share with me what they had learned about collaboration. Support was the most important thing that emerged for the teachers as a result of collaboration. Recognizing the power of collaboration the teachers began to see how the practices of the school and the larger society could be changed through collaborative efforts.

Anila mentioned how the support she had received from Salma and Malik during lesson planning had facilitated improvement of her teaching. As she explained she did not know how to teach critical thinking skills but through their collaborative planning and preparation of activities, she had been able to use the strategies in her classroom and seen

how effective they were in teaching for democratic citizenship:

> I wanted to teach my students how to detect bias but I did not know how to. The activity for the students was ready but I was unsure of my knowledge and how to introduce bias to them....I called Salma and over the phone, we discussed the activity and she gave me the idea of comparing the news on different news channels as a way of introduction.

Besides the moral support collaboration also resulted in material support. Malik referred to the support received in the provision of resources, especially the trouble which Salma and Anila had taken to translate materials from English to Urdu for him:

> I really appreciated the help I received from you when you translated materials for me to use in my classroom. Without this support it would have been difficult for me to teach critical thinking in my classroom. Now I have resources that I can use in my other classes as well.

Salma acknowledged similar support she received from the others, but more important for her was the knowledge that other teachers were engaging in similar practices and struggling like her. This realization encouraged her to take risks:

> The support in my classroom encouraged me to do things I had never done before....Working together encouraged me to engage in inquiry. I never thought doing research in the classroom was possible, but knowing Anila and Malik were also doing it in their classrooms, I thought, 'if they can do it, so can I.'

Collaboration helped the teachers to realize they were not alone in the struggle. Knowing other teachers were struggling like them helped them to take risks they would never have taken alone. They felt they would have learned more if they had had the opportunity of observing each other's teaching, but the time and the distance between their schools made this impossible. To address this, Salma and Anila often talked on the phone. Salma said:

> I wanted to observe Anila's lessons because during the VTP I learned so much by observing other teachers' teaching. But because I am teaching in both shifts I could not get time to go to her school. However, I found out that I could learn by talking to her on the phone.

Anila kept nodding in agreement with Salma. She recalled the difficulty she had in making time for planning and reflecting on her lessons and was furious that her principal, instead of recognizing these difficulties, exacerbated them:

> There is no time for us to plan together or reflect on our lessons, and now we have a new policy in our school. Each teacher, besides teaching has to spend one hundred and twenty hours in professional development and supervisory tasks. Our school is becoming like the army. The general does the thinking and the lower ranks obey. The lower ranks are constantly engaged in physical labour, which so tires them out that they can't think.

Through the research Anila realized she had agency and her actions could bring changes to the context. For example, she could create a democratic classroom environment, use different teaching methodologies and receive institutional support for these. However, the present syllabus and the examination system still needed to be addressed. Anila realized that to address the issue of curriculum development she needed the support of colleagues in her own school as well as from other schools. Collaboration during the action research had opened up possibilities for such efforts and Anila was determined to realize them:

> The syllabus that we are presently using provides very little opportunity for students to think, let alone thinking in a democratic way....Because there is so much lacking in the available syllabus, I am planning to prepare a syllabus with teachers in my school with the goal of educating for democratic citizenship. I think social issues should be part of the syllabus so I want to start by writing some materials on social issues during the summer holidays in language that will be easy for students to understand. Malik, Salma would you be willing to work with me?

Malik and Salma both thought it was a good idea. Recognizing the possibilities collaboration offered in bringing changes to the culture and practices in her own school, Anila's thoughts now turned to a more idealistic goal of changing the educational system. The education system, she believed, served to maintain the existing society and exerted control over students and teachers, thus preventing them from seeing possibilities for

realizing a democratic society:

> If we want to create a democratic society we will have to change many things that exist in our society, especially the education system because in its present form it promotes beliefs and values that support the existence of the present society, the status quo....I realize that concerted effort will be needed to introduce changes....If we continue to teach the way we are it will be impossible to change because it not only prevents the students from thinking but forces them to believe that the way things are, is correct. We teachers are the products of the system. We are teaching in our classrooms with the same techniques and beliefs of the society without realizing our mistakes.

Besides the constraint of not being able to observe each other's classroom, another constraint that emerged was culture. In Pakistani society it is not common for members of the opposite sex to work closely together. Salma and Anila kept referring to how they had communicated and supported each other over the phone. I wondered if Malik could not be included. Anila at once stated:

> There is no problem for me to work with Malik. There are male teachers in my school and I work with them.

She, however, acknowledged that while a professional relationship was acceptable, a telephone call to her home would be interpreted as development of a personal relationship and that would not be acceptable to her family. For Salma, however, a personal and professional relationship was possible:

> There are no restrictions for me. I can talk and work with men. Many of the male teachers from my school phone me as well as visit me at my home.

Malik himself, being part of the culture, respected and understood the constraints. He wondered how after I leave he would continue working with the female teachers who had been working with us.

> My concern is that I don't know how I will work with N.... and S.... in my school. In my previous school when I was talking to a female teacher the other teachers objected to my behavior....I will try to continue working with them. Maybe my head will support me.

Our conversation then moved from the topic of collaboration to how their inquiries had served the development of democratic citizenship. Malik believed that teaching students critical thinking and their engagement in social inquiry prepared them with knowledge, skills and attitudes needed for democratic citizenship:

> My purpose was to develop critical thinking in my students so that they do not accept anything without proof and inquiry so they can verify if what is being said is true...Through the inquiry students learned how to collect information to answer a question, to analyze and synthesize information and how to present it....In working together they learned to cooperate and respect each other…

Malik had the opportunity to see how effective his teaching had been when students actively participated in a meeting of all the stakeholders. He proudly shared this with Salma and Anila as evidence of success in teaching for democratic citizenship:

> I was very happy when the students shared their point of view and supported it during the meeting...The students were applying the lessons I had taught them. With time I hope they will gain more confidence, struggle for their rights and try to solve the problems in society as this is the work of citizens in a democracy….I was trying to create a spirit of *jihad* in the students to fight the evils of society and create a democratic society.

Salma shared important learnings that had accrued from the social inquiry for her students:

> The students were shocked to see small children working in the carpet factories and being treated so badly because their parents had taken loans from their employers. The visit to the *basti* was an even greater shock to them. They wanted to get out as soon as they could. It made them aware of class differences and the kind of life people from the lower classes live. I think it is very important to expose students of the upper class to this reality as it will help them to become better human beings, people who care about others….Their reflections and discussion showed that they were wondering why these differences exist and what needs to be done to change this reality.

The teachers' reflections then turned to how their beliefs had changed through teaching for democratic citizenship. Malik explained that the changes in his beliefs were

the result of changes in his teaching, which made him realize students were not "dull" but had a "lot of potential" and if given the opportunity will realize their potential. He acknowledged that prior to the research he had been only "a little lenient" with the students but now even though he had created a caring and cooperative environment they were "learning well" and "not sitting on [his] head."

Anila shared how a number of assumptions she held had been challenged. She did not think students could analyze and solve problems. She recalled how after students presented ways of overcoming the disadvantages of cooperative learning, she realized the skills students have:

> The students not only know more than I expected but also have very good analytical and critical thinking skills which I ignore most of the time and do not help them to develop....We have to believe in the potential of our students.

Reflecting on her learning from the inquiry, Salma acknowledged her ignorance of the social reality around her. "The visit to the *basti* was an eye opener for me. I realize I have to learn more about what is happening around me." She was determined not to give up her efforts "to educate myself and the people around me to understand our society and work to change it." I wondered about the process of an inquiry carried out in the safe confines of the classroom and restricted to critical reading and intellectual discussion to answer questions and test hypotheses. An environment in which we do not see the face of the other who calls us to responsibility.

An important learning for all the three teachers was around their understandings of knowledge -- what is knowledge, who produces knowledge, who decides what is official knowledge. In teaching for democratic citizenship, the teachers found the curriculum deficient and chose topics they thought would help realize their goals even though not in the curriculum. This led Anila and Salma to realize that what they had accepted as "school knowledge" was only one way of selecting and organizing knowledge to meet curriculum goals and that this curriculum inhered certain values and interests that did not serve democracy. They realized that in choosing to study child labor they had made a curriculum decision. Salma had seen the textbook as the main source of

school knowledge. In our conversations she had talked of including the newspaper and taking students on fieldtrips, but it was with the understanding that the newspaper and the fieldtrip, like the textbook, was the source of knowledge and herself and her students mere consumers of knowledge. When seeing how students had constructed their own knowledge out of their learnings from the video, their readings and their own experiences to answer the questions and present the role plays, Salma began to see herself and her students as producers of knowledge. Malik came to a similar realization, but he found it difficult to give up the belief of "teacher as expert," a belief constructed in a context in which good teachers are those who have a command over content knowledge. Malik did not see that this expert knowledge was the result of teaching the same textbook content for years. How will Malik resolve this dilemma? Will he seek to become the expert teacher denying how we come to know or will he see knowledge as a construction that opens up possibilities for transformation?

All the teachers pointed to the changes taking place in the material conditions of the school. Anila shared that after many complaints the principal had changed the thirty-five minute periods to fifty minutes, and social studies had been given more time. Malik shared how the principal, under pressure from the students (wanting to learn like the students in his class), had asked him to teach another class and how the principal himself had volunteered to take a class to free up a teacher to work with us so that the other classes could benefit as well. Not only had the teacher worked with us, but a few days later another teacher joined us as well. The teachers felt this was a real breakthrough as in the hierarchical structure and organization of Pakistani schools, heads are administrators not teachers and it was not often that teachers would volunteer to learn from other teachers. While acknowledging these changes the teachers commented on the lack of understanding and support from some of their colleagues. Malik shared how a math teacher on learning what he was doing in his class, questioned how an inquiry into why girls were not receiving education was part of social studies and asked him how much of the syllabus he had covered. Malik said before he could respond, the teacher who had been coming to the class recalled all the things students had been learning and its importance for the student and society. Malik remarked that the teacher was not to blame

as training and government directives had restricted teaching to only what was in the text book:

> The teacher training restricts us in a small circle only. During my training the tutor insisted I rub the blackboard in a certain way. I was not even allowed to rub the blackboard my way....The government does not allow us to teach anything except the textbook...

At the end of our conversation I thanked the teachers for their openness and willingness to have me come into their classrooms and observe them and then subject their thoughts and actions to critique. But more importantly I thanked then for showing me the possibilities to teach for democratic citizenship in social studies classroom. Their efforts to educate for democratic citizenship had demonstrated the way of changing the practice of social studies education by tapping into more non-cognitive forms of knowing, teaching as relational, and of restructuring schools through collaborative action research. I pointed out the ways each one had grown through their actions and reflections and my hope that they would continue to support each other and involve other teachers as had already happened in Malik's school and as Anila was planning, to continue the process and project of educating for democratic citizenship. I then requested them to come and share the process and product of their research with my class at the university and the meeting of ASSET (Association of Social Studies Education Teachers) to which they agreed.

Teachers' Understandings of the Nature and Content of Social Studies Education for Democratic Citizenship

The aim of the conversations and action research projects presented in this chapter was to inquire into the possibilities of educating for democratic citizenship in Pakistan through the social studies. From this inquiry have emerged several notions, understandings and conceptions of the nature and content of social studies education for democratic citizenship in Pakistan and I will end this chapter by identifying and briefly describing each of these understandings/conceptions. First to emerge was the type of democratic citizenship the teachers envisioned for Pakistan. Without exception the

teachers felt that political democracy, which consisted only of citizens electing their representatives, was insufficient. They expressed the need for participatory democracy (decision-making) to be extended to all areas that affected peoples' lives. They thought social democracy (equality, equity, freedom of expression and social justice) was also required.

The teachers also identified the nature and content of social studies to educate for democratic citizenship. For the teachers, knowledge was an important requirement for students to act as if already living in a democracy. They required knowledge of the history, culture, economic and political structure of one's country, knowledge of rights and responsibilities, and of social and current issues. Besides knowledge, the teachers identified a number of skills such as critical thinking, problem solving, decision making, and communication and interpersonal skills. They placed great emphasis on students learning the values and attributes of cooperation, care and concern for others, acceptance of and respect for others, equality of all members of society and social justice.

Through employing the teaching strategies of discussion, cooperative learning and inquiry, the teachers and students discovered a whole new way of being in the classroom. The strict, authoritarian, controlling teacher was replaced by the caring, cooperative, and compassionate teacher. The passive and bored students became active, interdependent and cooperative participants in learning. The engagement with challenging meaningful and relevant ideas and issues increased the human capacities of teachers and students promoting the growth and development of all in the classroom.

The teachers noted that changes would need to be made in assessment practices to reflect the view of knowledge as socially constructed and to assess the more non-cognitive forms of knowing. This would require a change in the practices of schools to provide opportunities for teachers to work collegially and collaboratively, and to play a greater role in making curricula decisions.

In the next chapter I will explore in greater detail the intersections among teacher identity, teacher development and teaching for democratic citizenship in Pakistan.

Chapter Seven

TEACHER IDENTITY, DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

In chapter six I described the action research process in which the teachers engaged. A process in which we scrutinized not only classroom teaching for democratic citizenship, but also explored how the taking up, negotiation and refusal of these practices were intimately linked with the teachers' biographies and the social structures of school and society within which they lived and worked.

During the action research with the teachers I realized that teacher identity was constructed and reconstructed by new experiences. Furthermore, in changed circumstances where teachers confront different sets of assumptions, different voices, new desires, and commitments emerge. The teachers' descriptions of their initial teaching practices indicated that they had, to a large extent, taken up the dominant discourses of teaching. Their descriptions, especially Malik's, indicated that their teacher training reinforced their understanding of the work of teachers developed when they were students, while the culture of the schools further reinforced the discourse of tradition and worked to reproduce traditional teacher experiences.

New constructions occurred when the teachers took part in the Visiting Teacher Program (VTP) at the Institute for Educational Development, Aga Khan University (IED, AKU). They all acknowledged that the program had challenged their taken-for-granted understanding of teaching and learning, providing them with strategies to make teaching and learning more participatory, meaningful and relevant to the lives of their students, and had resulted in their desires to teach using the knowledge and strategies they had learned during the program. However, their own teaching biography, the culture of the school and institutional imperatives that could hinder the application of this learning in their classrooms, were not adequately addressed. Salma's description of her efforts to implement her learnings from the VTP in her classroom indicated that she saw teaching as an individual activity and the individual as a "transcendent being who can rise above the disorder of social life and be untouched by its dynamics and its beckonings"

(Britzman, 1991, p. 235). The difficulty with seeing teaching as an individual activity and teachers as autonomous beings is that the individual is seen as solely responsible for effecting change or culpable when change is not effected.

During the action research, the teachers inquired into their own practices, they became aware of the complex and dynamic relationship between the discourses of the institution, the larger society and their own desires. Anila discussed how the construction of her teaching self within the institutional and societal discourses of gender, religion and language constrained the realization of her desires. She began to realize that, besides acquiring the knowledge and skills required to teach for democracy, she also had to work to change the structures and beliefs in the schools and society that constrained her efforts to teach for democracy.

Teachers construct their identity in the context of the past and present and in the interplay between their own desires and those of the cultures in which they work and live. The traditional discourses of teacher education in Pakistan view identity formation as a socialization process in which teachers assimilate and reproduce the prevailing culture. This view cedes to culture an overdetermination of effects and develops a notion of power that leaves teachers without agency. To counter this, teacher education institutions like the IED, AKU are taking up the humanistic discourse that sees teachers as "autonomous beings with multiple potential" (Simon, 1992). This approach presumes that teachers can make what they want of themselves and can do what they want in their own classrooms.

Possibilities for Change

To view culture as static and monolithic as the traditional discourses of teacher education do is to acknowledge that it is at once authoritative and impossible to change. Britzman (1991) suggests that we should recognize that culture is dynamic and a site of contestation and negotiation in which teachers are authors who either take up, resist or refashion their reality, even as these realities influence the formation of their identities. Similarly, we need to shift our thinking from the liberal humanist notion of the unified, rational and self-determining subject which presumes that individuals become who they

want to be and, given the necessary knowledge and skills, can fulfill their desires. What is minimized within this perspective is the fact that choice is limited by one's capacities and by the structures of school and society within which one has to choose (Corrigan, 1990). This means we have to understand teacher subjectivity as a site of conflict and struggle which is both individual and social so that we are better able to theorize how teachers influence and are influenced by the conditions in which they work (Britzman, 1991).

In the Pakistan context, several powerful traditions form teacher identity. These traditions are reflected in the action research participants. Each construction of teacher identity results in teaching and learning practices that serves the preparation of different kinds of citizens because from each arises a different view of democracy.

Teacher as *"Ustad"*

The three teachers (Malik, Anila, Salma) initial understanding of themselves as teachers came from their educational biographies. From their experiences as students they learned that the teacher is the sole authority in the classroom, authorizing who students are and who they will become through their control over the students. Teachers in Pakistan develop their identity in a context influenced by an indigenous tradition where the teacher is a *guru* or *ustad*, the *guru* a master in the intellectual realm and the *ustad* in the vocational realm. In both cases the student is under the complete control of the master, whose authority is derived from his knowledge and experience. Like the *guru* and *ustad*, teachers learn they can control their students by both prescription and restriction. Not only are learning tasks and classroom behaviors prescribed, but what one can and should do is predetermined by assumptions about gender, religion, and class. Similarly, restrictions serve not only to curb undesirable classroom behaviors, but also apparent and perceived personal and moral defects. Knowledge, in this tradition, is a set of unchallengable and immutable truths found within the covers of a textbook which students are expected to memorize and reproduce in examinations and which provided yet another way to categorize and control students. Given this tradition, the three teachers came to see teaching as predictable and certain and learning as the ability to consume and

reproduce the static knowledge of the textbook.

Because of their experiences as students, teaching was not a profession of choice for any of the teachers in the study. As students, Malik found school boring; Salma experienced boredom and suffered physical and emotional abuse; and Anila had teachers who taunted, teased, and hassled her in an effort to punish and subjugate her. Anila chose teaching to pass her time until she could find a job "in a bank or some financial institution." Salma took up teaching as a means of personal development, to gain confidence and become more social. Malik became a teacher because of the possibility of acquiring a permanent teaching position and job security.

Their initial teacher training, rather than undoing the beliefs about teaching they had acquired as students, reinforced these. As Bakhtin (1981) points out, the language we use inheres particular world-views. In Pakistan teachers are trained, not educated, in teacher training colleges rather than the university. The term used for teacher in Pakistan is *ustad*, not *guru*. A *guru* is a master in the intellectual realm, while an *ustad* is a person from whom one learns the skills of an occupation by observing and doing exactly as instructed.

The language of training and use of the term *ustad* rather than *guru* for teacher posits a vocational model of teacher education, not a professional model. The curriculum requires teachers to learn theory via courses in educational psychology, educational philosophy and so on, but the instructors at the teacher training colleges see theory as irrelevant, calling for more "emphasis on teaching practice" rather than studying the major schools of curriculum thought--realism, naturalism, and pragmatism (Warwick and Reimers, 1995, p. 52). As a result, theory is separated from practice and becomes simply a requirement for passing the exams.

The entire teacher education curriculum, both "theory" and "methods" courses, is taught through lectures from the textbook, dictation of notes (often preserved from their own training), and writing notes on the blackboard for students to copy (Warwick and Reimers, 1995). Teachers, through observation, learn there is only one method -- the lecture method; and, when they teach, do exactly what they learned from their *ustad* that is, lecture. The basic assumptions of the transmission of authoritative knowledge

undergirds this model. Knowledge in this view is situated beyond the social relationships and realities of the people who produce it and is presented as fixed, objective and neutral. Teachers' and students' roles are relatively fixed. The teacher talks; the students listen. Teaching consists of the presentation of facts and learning the memorization of the facts.

Conception of Democracy

What conception of democracy is conveyed when teaching is guided by an authoritative and technical rationality? As Salma noted these teaching practices prepare students for dictatorship rather than democracy. As the conversations with the education officials indicate, the system is almost completely autocratic. The administration is top-down. Those at the top control the preparation and implementation of the curriculum, make the rules, sanction those who challenge or infringe them, and control resources and rewards. The social studies curriculum content consists of a heavily purified and sanitized view of history and present-day society. Civics courses focus on the structure and functioning of state and government institutions and the rights and duties of citizens, a focus on developing loyalty to the country and to the government in power. The teachers and education officials noted that content is factual and presented as an uncontested single set of values. In the classroom the teacher is the dictator, teaching a highly ideological (the ideology of the government in power), but apparently politically neutral curriculum, and controlling the minds and bodies of the students, preparing them for their role as obedient servants.

Teaching as the transmission of authoritative knowledge positions teachers and students as objects, just as citizens in a dictatorship. Many teachers, like the dictator, are "interpellated" (Althusser, 1971, quoted in Britzman, 1991); that is, they undergo a complex process whereby they identify with the ideologies that summon them so that they understand themselves to be the sources rather than the effect of that summons. Seeing themselves as the source of the ideology they insist on obedience and loyalty to it and the person in whom the ideology is manifested. This portrayal of power and domination and how it operates in schools is negative and one-dimensional; but, as critical theorists (Apple, 1995; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993; Giroux, 1983) suggest,

power in the service of domination is never complete. There is always resistance both by teachers and students. Much of the resistance expressed by teachers is negative and takes the form of absenteeism, doing the minimum while on the job, and cynicism.

However, all the teachers in this study volunteered to participate in the Visiting Teacher Program (VTP) expressing dissatisfaction with their practice and a desire to learn new teaching strategies to improve their practice. The teachers' desire for improvement, expressed in terms of wanting to learn new teaching strategies, can be understood given that, in their educational biography, teacher training, and teaching to-date had been seen as the application of technique.

Influence of the Visiting Teacher Program

Each of the three teachers in the research had attended an eight-week program at the IED, AKU. The intent of the program was to develop exemplary classroom teachers by enhancing their pedagogical content knowledge in social studies and encouraging them to become reflective practitioners so as to continually improve their practice through reflection. The program challenges assumptions about teaching and learning that teachers bring and encourages them to see education as a means of promoting equality and community. The teaching strategies used to deliver the program encourage teachers to see knowledge not as fixed, objective and neutral, but as constructed from their individual and social experiences. Teachers are encouraged to see themselves not as the author of students' learning, but as facilitators, providing students opportunities to work together, to use language and thought, engage in problem-solving and decision-making, and to make meaning and interpret "the word." Students, not nature, are seen as the authors of their own knowledge.

The heavy focus in the program on developing exemplary teachers, who would initiate change in the teaching/learning practices in their classrooms to improve the quality of education in their schools, positioned teachers as autonomous and downplayed the authority of school structure and processes. What the program did not adequately address was the authoritative and technical rationality that underpinned the teachers' educational and teaching biography and the culture of schools that reinforced it.

Furthermore, the program ignored the dynamic relationship between school and society and how these influenced teaching and learning in the classroom. This resulted in teachers seeing the usefulness of the instructional strategies in making their classrooms more interesting and humane places, but not the use of reflective practice as a tool for analyzing and challenging existing school practices or their supporting social forms.

During the program, teachers were encouraged to critique the existing curriculum and find ways to overcome its limitations. They were introduced to a number of instructional strategies aimed at making their students more active participants in their learning and developing students' potential in areas not addressed by the existing curriculum. These same strategies were used in the program to enhance the teachers' content knowledge and to develop their communication, interpersonal, critical thinking, and reflective skills. When the teachers returned to their schools and attempted to bring about changes in the teaching/learning process, they discovered they could not implement their learnings in the classroom because the school remained unchanged. The administration required them to teach the prescribed curriculum and to prepare students for exams that tested their ability to recall textbook materials.

Colleagues were also not supportive of their efforts to change. Rather than critically reflecting on why their attempts to change were being hindered and thinking of ways to challenge and transform the relations and structures that limited their desires, the teachers accepted the structure and process of the school as given, changing themselves by becoming more humanistic, and delivering the given curriculum through more participatory methods. In employing a more humanistic approach and participatory methods, the teachers "delivered" an unpalatable curriculum in a more palatable way, leaving aside the more critical dimensions of change. The teachers experienced a semblance of autonomy in being able to make changes in their own classroom and felt a sense of achievement as students were less resistant, better able to learn the same curriculum, and receive higher scores on tests.

My contention is that the conception of teaching in which teachers and students have a semblance of autonomy and authority allows for the acceptance and promotion of representative democracy. In representative democracy, political parties nominate

candidates for elections. From among these candidates people select their representatives. They theoretically lend their right and power to this small group of citizens to make the laws and decisions for them. The power to select and reject representatives through elections gives citizens the illusion of authority, autonomy, and of participation in the decision-making process.

There are many features of this "illusion of autonomy" in Pakistani schools. I will share just two examples. Teachers in Pakistan are not involved in curriculum development, nor do they choose the textbooks they use in their classrooms. They do have the freedom to choose the methodology to teach the curriculum to the students. The power to select and reject methodologies gives teachers the illusion of participation in decision-making. Teachers, by choosing methodologies which require students' active engagement, have the illusion that they are sharing their authority with their students. A second example comes from Anila's school. The principal decided that teachers had to complete one hundred and twenty hours in professional development and supervisory duty in addition to their present responsibilities as teachers. Teachers had the autonomy to choose the professional development programs they would attend and the supervisory tasks they would undertake but the decision could not be questioned nor was the number of hours negotiable.

Possibilities for Teaching as a Practice of Democracy

Teaching as a deeply democratic practice sees schools as embedded in the larger society, with the work of schools as preparing students to cooperate to create a society characterized by justice and equality. It sees teaching as a complex and evolving practice that calls for critical reflection and responsible action in a context filled with constraints and possibilities. In this study, the action research began with teachers reflecting on Pakistani society, envisioning a more democratic society and reflecting on how that vision could be realized through their practice in the classroom and in larger context of school and society. The teachers enacted practices they felt would prepare their students to create a democratic society and reflected on their practices. Reflective conversations with Anila and Malik at the beginning of the research indicated that, while they desired to

teach for democratic citizenship, they were doubtful of realizing their desires because of their inability to translate their ideas into classroom practice (Malik, Anila) and the institutional imperatives of curriculum and examinations (Anila). The teachers, while recognizing how the structure and practices of schools constrained practice often saw this as a result of their own inadequacy which more and better training could address (Salma). They felt their efforts alone would not result in any change in the system. Change would only result when everyone was teaching for democracy.

The action research sought to address these doubts by encouraging the teachers to examine their practice to see how it had come to be this way, to critically reflect upon their current practice and the larger context in which they practiced and to see how their own thoughts and actions, and the structure and processes of the context, might block or distort their efforts. As the teachers in the study addressed the blocks to practice for democracy, they realized the complexity of teaching and recognized that teaching, like democracy, is not an "ideal state" to be realized but is "built through their continual efforts at making a difference" (Apple and Beane, 1995, p. 13).

Teaching as democratic practice requires democratic structures and processes as well as a democratic curriculum and pedagogy. The teachers began their efforts to build democracy from the place where they have most autonomy -- their classrooms. In keeping with their desire to make the classroom more democratic, the teachers chose pedagogical practices, such as discussion and inquiry, which required students' active participation in their learning, gave them some choice and authority, and provided opportunities for students to express their opinions and listen to the opinions of others. They also created a caring and cooperative classroom environment to facilitate students' learning with and from each other and the development of democratic attitudes and values, such as respect for others, cooperation and tolerance.

Over the course of the research the teachers' interactions with their school heads resulted in changes in structure (longer periods for social studies) and practices (field trips, provision of resources) of the school that opened up ways for teachers to make their practice more democratic. The students, recognizing the more democratic environment in their schools, used it to open up the school to new practices. In Iqbal Public School,

other students demanded they be taught like Malik's students which resulted in the head teaching a class to free up a teacher to work with us. Similarly, Anila's students used the democratic process of organizing themselves as a group to insist they be allowed to take concrete action on their learnings that demonstrated the possibilities of students acting to bring change in the larger society.

The teachers, through the inquiries into social issues, where students constructed knowledge out of their experiences and produced knowledge in the form of role plays, articles and letters, came to view knowledge as a social construction that arises out of reflection on experience, out of inquiry into issues, and out of discussion. They also came to see how some of their own constructions of reality were distorted, for example, their assumptions that students from educated families are intelligent, and began to see the need to understand, challenge and change these assumptions. They came to see teaching and learning not as the consumption and reproduction of immutable truths, but as a continually evolving process in which both teachers and students are teaching and learning.

Reflections on the Action Research

My contention is that teaching as a practice of democracy will result in the preparation of citizens who will be able to create a democratic society. To realize a democratic society, teaching as the practice of democracy requires teachers and students to be actively involved in creating this society in their own classroom; reflecting on how their society has come to be the way it is; envisioning a society based on equality, justice and freedom; discussing and deciding on the knowledge, skills and dispositions they will require and therefore must learn in their classroom; the teaching practices and classroom environment that will foster such learning, recognizing the dynamic relation between their classroom and context; seeing the need to act on their learnings in the larger society; deliberating over and coming up with alternative and responsible ways to act; and acting together to make society more democratic; and critically reflecting on their actions to see their impact.

POSSIBILITIES FOR EDUCATING FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN PAKISTAN

In this study I have attempted to understand how education in general and social studies education in particular has come to be the way it is and the kind of citizenship education that has resulted from it. I engaged in conversations with education officials and in conversations and action research with teachers to uncover the possibilities for curriculum development and teacher education to educate for democratic citizenship through the social studies. In the previous section I have demonstrated how different forms of teacher education result in different conceptions of citizenship education.

In this concluding section I will explore possible directions for education, with emphasis on social studies education, for democratic citizenship in Pakistan. I use the word "possible" because in offering possibilities I do not mean to take up the "master's position" (Lather, 1992) of formulating theories to control and direct educational policies and practices. I also use the word "possible" in the sense that most of the suggestions have arisen from actual practice in tradition or from the research. I will begin by describing the possibilities various cultural and educational traditions in Pakistani society offer and the limits these traditions place on education for democratic citizenship. I will finally draw on the conversations and action research to suggest possible directions for education policy, curriculum development, teacher education and school change. I will do this by illustrating how what is seen as "the given" (Benjamin, quoted in Britzman, 1991) is determined by particular beliefs which limit the "social forms/human capacities" (Corrigan, 1990) and by offering possibilities to expand both the social forms and human capacities to realize the vision of a democratic society in Pakistan.

Possibilities within Pakistani Culture

The Growth of Civil Society

The most significant development in the political arena is the growth of civil society in Pakistan. Civil society broadly defined includes all voluntary and private sector (as opposed to government) activities. Civil societies usually emerge out of the determination and self-initiative of people to improve their capacity to govern their lives,

by creating informal structures and processes to address their basic concerns. Civil societies usually act to protect human rights from being infringed upon both by the government and the market. While there have always been civil society organizations in Pakistan, over the last few years the growing inability of the state to address the social needs of people has resulted in people organizing themselves to meet their own needs. In villages and small towns there is the proliferation of religious associations and grassroots level organizations, in the urban areas besides religious associations, associations of people belonging to the middle class and the professional organizations are being constituted. Civil society is still in its infancy and the number of organizations still small. However, this positive trend bodes well for democracy because it allows for bottom-up development and for the voice of people who are generally excluded from the political arena to be heard.

The Importance of Community

Community and interdependence, rather than competition and individualism, is a feature of Pakistani society that can serve the promotion of democracy. In the rural areas of Pakistan, especially among the small farmers, it is a tradition at the time of harvest for everyone to help harvest the crop of one farmer and then to move on to another. Children, from a very early age, learn to perform tasks for any member of the community. In keeping with the Quranic injunction not to take interest, many communities give loans to members of the community without taking any interest. This practice was common in the community in which Iqbal Public School was situated and to which most of the students in the school belonged.

Consensual Decision-Making

While western societies grew out of the tribal system centuries ago, the regions comprising present day Pakistan continues to have a dominant tribal facet to its social structure. A common feature of the tribal system, especially the Pathan and Baloch is a consensual decision-making body called the *Jirga*. The *Jirga*, is a council of elders of a tribe or a number of tribes, which settles all issues within that polity, even in matters

concerning life and death. One reads quite often, in the newspapers of intra and inter tribal disputes, being amicably settled in the *Jirga* or the *Loye Jirga* (grand council), whose decision is accepted by even the administration. The more democratic the tribe, the larger the *Jirga*. A full *Jirga* could mean the whole male adult population of a tribe. The *Jirga* reflects the democratic spirit of the tribal system. The powers of the tribal chief are restricted because in matters concerning the welfare and interests of the tribe, he cannot act against the wishes of the general community, which is ascertained through the *Jirga*. To offer greater possibilities for democracy consensual decision-making bodies like the *Jirga* will have to include women. Given the segregation of the sexes in Pakistani society, a more viable intermediary stage may be the setting up of similar institutions for women.

Democratic Roots in the Islamic Tradition

In Islam human beings are seen as the vicegerents of God. To be effective vicegerents, they require wisdom. Education is the process whereby they acquire this wisdom (Ashraf, 1979). Muslims hold that the general guidelines for the educational process are given in the teachings of the *Qur'an* and *sunnah* (the human example of Prophet Muhammad, but human beings are to work out the details through their "own creativity and inventiveness" (Brohi, 1979, p. 73). Three concepts serve to illustrate the possibilities that the Islamic tradition offers to education for democratic citizenship.

The first concept is the unity of the spiritual and the physical. In Islam "[t]he human body, is viewed as the carrier of a person's inner core and of the spirit of God. Physical concerns are, therefore, not incidental to the Qur'an" (Esack, 1997, p. 95). Education is seen as a comprehensive process aimed at the full development of the spiritual, intellectual, sociopolitical and emotional faculties of every individual. Equality of access to education and preferential treatment of disadvantaged groups to redress past and present constraints are essential in order that all may develop their full potential.

The second is the Islamic tenet of the oneness of God, humanity, and nature. The *Qur'an* places humanity in a "world of *tawhid* where God, people and nature display a meaningful and purposeful harmony" (Shari'ati, 1980, quoted in Esack, 1997, p.94).

Therefore there can be no distinction among people on the basis of race, class, gender, caste or creed and thus is an exhortation to develop an egalitarian society (Ashraf, 1979; Brohi,1979; Esack,1997).

The third is the principle of progressive revelation, is an important methodological principle for reinterpreting Islam in different historical circumstances. The principle of progressive revelation, evident from the disciplines of *asbab al-nuzul* (events occasioning revelation) and *naskh* (abrogation) portray God as actively engaged in the affairs of the world by "manifest[ing] His will in terms of the circumstances of His people, who speaks to them in terms of their reality and whose word is shaped by those realities" (Esack, 1997, p. 60). The principle of progressive revelation is being embraced as part of the attempt to understand the revealed meaning of the *Qur'an* in a specific historical context, to contextualize the message in terms of contemporary reality and to provide for a liberatory praxis. The concept of progressive revelation means that education must encourage individuals to engage in constant critical reflection and action aimed at the betterment of human beings and society.

Education in Pakistan

Pakistan has a pre-colonial heritage of community participation on a self-help basis in the provision of education to all. Leitner (1882 quoted in Baqir, 1998, pp.179-180) describes education in the Punjab, saying that provision of education was seen as a moral responsibility. Everyone felt it was their "proud duty to teach others" and contribute financially to "maintaining schools or pupils in them." This attitude resulted in universal literacy.

Baqir points out that this system was successful for three reasons: (i) community selection and provision of the site for the school; (ii) financial support of the teacher through presents and gifts, endowments, a share in the village crop and from the village tax; and (iii) the belief that teaching others is a basic moral responsibility of every educated person (p. 181). Baqir claims that this tradition died out because the British discontinued the payment of a salary to the local school teacher from the village tax,

using the money instead for modern schools built in urban areas. There was also a lack of demand by the government for people trained in the community schools. Hoodbhoy's (1998) critical study also wonders if there was universal literacy: "Why did it leave behind no sign of philosophical and scientific achievements?" (p.8). The answer to this important question might be found in the discussion on the limitations of the Islamic and indigenous approaches to education.

The approach taken by most nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) for provision of education resembles the traditional model described above. The model of the Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) differs and will be discussed to see what possibilities it offers. In Orangi, parents wanted to educate their children and showed a willingness to pay for their education. As government facilities were insufficient, private institutions in the form of tuition centres and schools were set up. With schools close to home parents were willing to send their children, especially their daughters, to study and to teach. A. H. Khan (1998) points out that attracting female teachers has been significant in three ways: (i) The acceptance of lower salaries by female teachers has made it possible for private entrepreneurs to establish and run schools without charging high fees. A.H. Khan observes, "Quite clearly, private schools are based on the sacrifice (or exploitation) of educated girls." (ii) The dominant presence of female teachers (75%) removed the traditional Muslim inhibition of sending girls to school. (iii) It has resulted in the acceptance of co-education in the primary but also in secondary schools (p. 207).

This process has resulted in the change in social forms and to possibilities for enlarging human capacities. For example, female teachers going to work has resulted in a "non-aggressive, non-ostentatious, modest emancipation which is getting accepted in a highly conservative environment" (ibid., p. 208) and has resulted in their eagerness to receive more academic and professional education. Because of female teachers and co-education schools girls can receive an education increasing their human capacities. Co-education opens possibilities for addressing the very strict male-female segregation in Pakistani society.

Recognizing the limitations of the education being provided in substandard buildings, without playgrounds, and using untrained teachers and traditional teaching

methods the OPP sought to address them through the formation of an association of the community-based schools. The association has exercised a check on commercialism and exploitation of teachers and has been able to mobilize funds for physical and academic improvements. In recognizing that development requires government and community partnership, A. H. Khan suggests that "[o]ur government should also resume the old practice of aiding community schools financially and technically and give up the grandiose pretension of being an omnipotent provider of education" (ibid. p. 211). Both the pre-colonial education system and efforts like the OPP offer possibilities to increase the literacy rate in Pakistan and therefore for democracy.

Possible Constraints on Educating for Democratic Citizenship in Pakistan

Despite the examples described above to illustrate what the Pakistani society has to offer to support and sustain efforts for democratic citizenship education in Pakistan, it would be naive not to recognize the constraints that Pakistani culture and present educational practices in the different education systems place on promoting democratic citizenship.

Constraints within Pakistani Culture

A Strong Military

Pakistan has been ruled by democratically elected governments as well as military dictatorships. However, even under democratic rule the military plays a key role in the political affairs of the country. Some of the reasons for Pakistan finding it so difficult to institutionalize democracy are: the enormous power of the state institutions -- the military and the bureaucracy; the class-divided society and the resultant control of the political institutions by the feudal lords; political leaders inexperience in the democratic tradition; the lack of democratic values, such as tolerance of opposing views and respect for the rule of law; a practically non-existent civil society; and a large illiterate population.

The Feudal System

The feudal system is one of the biggest obstacles to change in Pakistani society.

The feudals are socially, economically and politically powerful. When Pakistan came into being in 1947, it had a totally agrarian economy and was under total feudal control. Today, besides control of the agrarian economy, the feudals also control the industrial economy, being largely based on the textile industry, which is dependent on feudal-controlled cotton. The dominant social system in Pakistan, especially in the rural areas, is feudalism. The unjust feudal social order has resulted in the suppression of the peasants, to peasants and women being denied opportunities for education and to out-dated social practices such as karo-kari (stoning a women to death for alleged sexual misconduct). Economic and social power has resulted in the feudal politicians controlling political power. Most peasants, besides giving homage, labor and a share of the crop to the feudal lord, are also forced to vote for their feudal lord thus ensuring them an electoral victory. There is evidence that things are slowly changing as some peasants are becoming literate and the others with the help of NGOs are becoming aware of their rights and are becoming assertive.

Fundamentalist Islam

Islam has been used as an instrument of centralization and to preserve the social order by elites in power throughout the history of Pakistan. Under the dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq, fundamentalists got the opportunity to rule and efforts were made to convert Pakistan into an Islamic state. However, as Haque (1985) observes instead of choosing the revolutionary concepts of social and economic equality which are the basis of the *Qur'an*, they strengthened feudalism and capitalism and the class structure of Pakistani society. Haque observes

> Pakistan's ruling elites have ingenuously devised an 'Islamic' ideology to conserve and justify social and economic relationships based on a decadent status quo of feudalism and comprador-capitalism. Knowing that all Muslims have great love for the holy Prophet and *Qur'anic* Islam, the ruling classes are exploiting the fair name of Islam and have turned *Qur'anic* concepts into institutions which are the citadels of vested interest....Real Qur'anic Islam has been discarded by the ruling elite of Pakistan for the reason that its application would do away with the institutions of feudalism and capitalism. (pp.121-122)

The politics of Islamization has given life to various Islamic sects and sectarian politics is

undermining the spirit of Muslim brotherhood/sisterhood and promoting intolerance and hampering democratization of society.

Constraints in the Present Education Systems

Indigenous Learning

In Pakistan, in an effort to spread literacy, many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have facilitated communities in the provision of education to its members on a self-help basis as was the case in pre-colonial days. Community-based efforts by NGOs to spread literacy are very important for democracy to flourish. However, from the point of view of this study, one needs to ask whether the process of becoming literate is democratic and serves democratic ends? Baqir (1998) observes that in most cases it does neither. He asserts that, with the exception of a few NGOs, the traditional authoritarian model of teaching is the norm and compares learning in this model to the "Pavlovian approach using fear as a conditioning device for evoking a desired response from the students" (pp.185-186). He claims that the teaching materials used both for primary education and adult literacy are made with complete disregard to the age of the students and relation to reality. Teacher training provided by the NGOs to the teachers is weak and irrelevant. With regard to whether the education provided serves democratic ends, he observes that literacy is seen as an end not as a means to development and social action for change.

Madrasah Education

Most Muslim countries, including Pakistan, have two systems of education. In the *madrasah*, religious education is imparted. Secular schools a result of colonialism teach a curriculum similar to the curriculum of many countries in the Western world. In Pakistan, efforts made in 1979 to merge the two systems have resulted in the inclusion of Urdu, social studies, and science in the curriculum of the *madrasah* and to inclusion of Islamic history and Islamic beliefs and practices (pietistic and ritualistic) in the government prescribed textbooks used in the secular schools.

The education given in the *madrasahs* has not changed much since it came to the

Indian subcontinent in the thirteenth century. The "pure and classical training given in Pakistani *madrasahs* is greatly valued among the Islamic movements in Muslim countries" (Nayyar, 1998, p. 230). Teaching in the *madrasahs* resembles the banking approach to education in which the teacher is the authority filling knowledge into empty vessels. Authority is maintained through punishment. Corporal punishment is so common that some children are chained and made to wear leg fetters.

The Colonial Tradition

When colonizers came to the Indian subcontinent, they set up an educational system to produce Indians for clerical positions that existed in the civil service and who would be "your most obedient servants" (Macaulay, quoted in Quddus, 1990, p. 84). The *madrasah* system in existence at the time prepared religious leaders and public administrators and encouraged obedience from their students (Nayyar, 1998). The colonial education system, being similar to the *madrasah,* made it easy for assimilation into the Indian subcontinent. The limited aims of education -- clerks who could read and write, and obedient subjects -- resulted in the method of teaching as knowledge transmission and learning as memorization of knowledge. The teachers' descriptions of their lives as students (described in Chapter Six) revealed that the teachers just read a chapter from the textbook and gave students questions to answer. They also punished students in order to get them to obey. Such teaching transforms Pakistani children into obedient and submissive adults, lacking initiative, creativity, and ability to think for themselves.

Drawing on Insights from the Research to Educate for Democratic Citizenship

Having examined the possibilities and constraints of educating for democratic citizenship in the traditions that influence education in Pakistan, I now return to the ideas generated during the research to offer suggestions for education policy, curriculum development, teacher education and school change towards the creation of a democratic society in Pakistan.

If people are to develop and sustain a democratic way of life, they must have

opportunities to reflect on what that way of life means and how it might be lived (Dewey, 1916/1966). For only in imagining an alternative society will people make the effort to realize that society. One site in which children can learn about and live the democratic way of life is in schools. Schools are important because, in Pakistan, most children spend at least some time there and because schools are potentially small communities in which students can experience living democratically. To prepare students to build a democratic society, they must become democratic places. Realizing this, the participants in the study called for restructuring the education system, a comprehensive change in which all components, that is, curriculum development, school organization and teacher education are tackled together.

Chapter Four demonstrates that all the education policies called for comprehensive changes but, as Shagufta argues, the instability in the political system led governments to focus on areas where results were immediately tangible rather than paying attention to education which required a long gestation period.

Restructuring requires a vision. I believe education for democracy offers the vision for a comprehensive change in education in Pakistan. In keeping with the principle of democracy I think people in the educational and social community must come together to establish the guiding principles of the vision -- a vision schools will seek to realize. However, while coming to agreed national goals and frameworks, each school should be left to work out the specific details of content and process. My conversations with the education officials and teachers began with an effort to articulate the guiding principles of this vision. The principles identified were equity, justice, care and concern for others with a preferential option for the *mustad'afun*, cooperation, active participation of all, mutual consultation, consensus and informed judgment. These principles have the following implications for action:

First, democracy is about individuals arriving at informed, independent judgment (*ijtihad*) and then coming to consensus (*ijma*) through mutual consultation (*shura*) on issues that affect all. In the case of schools as democratic institutions, these must be characterized by informed and widespread participation in governance, policy making and implementation. This entails a comprehensive change in the existing power relationships

among principals, teachers, students and community and replacing from hierarchical relationships to more cooperative and collegial arrangements.

Second, democracy is about *qist* (justice and equity). All children must have access to school, but as critical theorists have demonstrated this is insufficient, because programs within schools are often discriminatory (Anyon, 1981). What is required in schools is a preferential option for the *mustad'afun* (oppressed), so that they have equal access to all programs in the school, "equal encouragement" (Pearl and Knight, 1999) in the classroom, and the removal of institutional barriers that hinder, restrict or deny the realization of school outcomes, valued by society, to the *mustad'afun* are eliminated.

Third, democracy is about working together towards the common good -- the creation of a society where all can live in dignity. Democratic schools should, therefore, emphasize cooperation rather than competition. Schools must become learning communities in which students inquire into personal, local and global problems and discuss ways of addressing them. The actions taken to address the issues must be liberating.

Educators involved in comprehensive restructuring to create democratic schools must realize that they are undertaking a *jihad* which, as the word implies, will require them "to struggle," "exert themselves" and "expend energy and wealth" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, 1953 quoted in Esack, 1997, p.104). They must recognize that their efforts to change will always result in conflict, contradictions and controversy as they face the dominant traditions of schooling and the *mustakbirun* (arrogant and powerful) who benefit from the way things are. They must therefore be committed, hopeful and live democracy's idealized set of values in school and society while continuing their efforts to promote and extend the democratization of schools and society. Listed below are some pragmatic steps which might be taken to bring about a comprehensive change in the education system.

Restructuring Pakistan's Education System

An aristocratic view of the state has resulted in an aristocratic view of education. This view holds that some children have greater capacities than others and, therefore, the

education system must provide a different range of possibilities for different groups of children by providing different forms of schooling, curriculum and teaching practices. This belief has resulted in a two school system -- one preparing leaders and the other workers. The leadership group is expected to provide the political, economic and social leadership that would result in economic growth and development, which would ultimately trickle down to the workers For this reason, more emphasis and money is spent on tertiary education than on provision for universal and free primary education.

The education officials with whom I conversed in this study assert that the present educational system is thoroughly undemocratic. The administration is bureaucratic; it does not provide access to education to all; the quality of education has deteriorated and education has become irrelevant to contemporary society. The education officials proposed a comprehensive restructuring of the education system to address these issues.

The education officials recommended that the education system be decentralized and depoliticized through greater participation of the community in making decisions concerning education. They called for community participation in school governance and policy making. In most public schools, a structure for community participation in decision-making already exists in the form of parent-teacher associations (PTA). In Iqbal Public School a teacher studying for his master's in education was conducting his research into the possibilities of designing a school development plan. As part of his research a meeting of the PTA was called. Some students were also invited to attend the meeting so that their voice could be heard. The active role played by all the stakeholders during the meeting was indicative of the potential of the PTAs for community participation in school governance and policy making. The PTAs, however, will have to be made more democratic by: including stakeholders whose voice is presently missing, such as students; making the organizational structure more horizontal; and the decision-making process more participatory.

Community participation, however, can often be undemocratic. Local participation and decision-making can exclude and oppress selected groups. In Pakistan, gender inequity is acknowledged as a barrier to community participation in educational policy making. Minority groups are also often disenfranchised. In such circumstances

the state may have to selectively intervene to ensure democratic principles and values are followed.

The rural poor and women are the two major groups denied access to education in Pakistan. The education officials acknowledge that many factors contributed to the lack of provision of education to the rural poor and women. Shagufta and Mehrunissa placed the blame on the lack of political will and the short sightedness of the governments in power. Aqil blamed the feudal system for the failure of the efforts made and argued nothing would change until the feudal system was brought to an end.

The deterioration of the quality of education in the schools was seen as a major obstacle to education for democratic citizenship by all the research participants. They called for the depoliticization of the system, the restructuring of schools and the need for a complete change in the curriculum.

Most important to this study is the education officials' claim that schools have become irrelevant to society. They argue the purpose of schools should be the preparation of "good," "well informed," "responsible" citizens who would contribute to the development of a democratic society. They, however, claimed that schools, instead of preparing students for citizenship, had become sites for the provision of certificates to students to obtain employment or a place at an institution of higher learning. The change in the purpose of the school has been a gradual process, occurring in direct proportion to the government's failure to provide education to its citizenship. For example, in 1998 statistics showed that for the first time in the history of Pakistan more children in the city or Karachi were attending private schools than government schools.

Pakistan has always had a private education system parallel to the government system. I believe that, as growing numbers of citizens have had to pay for their education and pay heavily, individual returns on education have become more important than social returns. Certification has taken precedent over citizenship. If education is to prepare students for democratic citizenship then it must be provided by the state or, as A. H. Khan (1998) suggests, through state community partnership as prevalent in pre-colonial days. Most people contend that the lack of financial resources make this impossible in Pakistan. But as Aqil indicated, providing education is not impossible for the state because, even

of the small amount allocated to education in Pakistan, only fifty percent is utilized. His second point was more critical. Quoting Mahbub-ul-Haq, Aqil suggested freezing the defense budget, "not decreasing, just freezing it" so that money is available for an essential like education.

The Potential of the Social Studies Curriculum for Fostering Democracy

The education officials and the teachers in the study noted that curriculum development was centralized, its form prescriptive and the content repetitive, biased, and unrelated to society. They argued that the curriculum did not serve the preparation of "well informed" and "responsible citizens." The development of the national curriculum by bureaucrats and its reduction to a textbook which teachers are bound to use in the classroom has resulted in the "de-skilling" of teachers and to the redefinition of their work as the implementation of others' ideas and plans (Apple, 1993). For most teachers in Pakistan the curriculum is the textbook, the methodology the lecture and assessment paper-pencil test and examinations.

In keeping with democratic principles, the education officials called for the decentralization of curriculum development and the teachers for the participation in curriculum development. The education officials did not suggest how decentralization was be undertaken. I propose ideas be sought from the public, these be shared and deliberated upon and a broad consensus reached on the national goals and frameworks that must guide an education system geared to preparing citizens for democracy. In keeping with these goals and frameworks, suggestions regarding the concepts to be dealt with, examples of relevant instructional strategies, and assessment practices could become part of the curriculum. Schools, however, should decide on specific content, teaching strategies and evaluation practices to realize the goals.

The Matric and Cambridge school systems in Pakistan have different curricula as each develops the human capacities required to fit students into different social forms. The curriculum of the Cambridge system has more breath and depth in every subject area and students use multiple textbooks printed all over the world. The curriculum facilitates the development of higher-order thinking skills, teaches students to solve problems and

make decisions, and encourages the development and use of their imagination and creativity. The curriculum serves the preparation of students who see themselves as leaders in their profession, in the government, or the market. The national curriculum, on the other hand, limits students to knowledge within the covers of the prescribed text. Students learn to read, write and memorize the information in the text. The purpose of the curriculum is the transmission of cultural values and acceptance of the existing society as given. Through this separation, the two social forms -- the elite and the poor -- are rendered natural or God-given, and all versions of human possibility not in accord with the social form are seen as attempts at undermining society. Neither of the two curriculums prepares students for democracy.

In this research context similar curricula were used in all the three schools: Iqbal Public School (Matric, Urdu) Jinnah Private School (Matric, English), and Saleemullah Private School (Cambridge, English). In all three schools students studied both history and a significant social issue. Students engaged in discussions, worked cooperatively (albeit more effectively in Iqbal Public School) learning the skills and dispositions needed of democratic citizens. Students in all the schools engaged in an inquiry of a significant social issue during which they learned and applied the skills of formulating questions, hypothesizing, collecting, analyzing and synthesizing data, making decisions and taking actions based on their findings. The fact that all three teachers taught and students learned a similar yet context-based curriculum is clear indication that the curriculum restricts the development of the human capacities of both students and teachers. Given this knowledge, the possibility for a single school system emerges and with it the possibility for social equality essential for the institutionalization and sustainment of democracy.

In making suggestions for the content of the curriculum I do not want to be prescriptive, but illustrative, sharing with other educators (all involved in education), the lived curriculum and why the teachers in this study believe what they taught and how they taught should be part of the curriculum. Teachers can critically appropriate content, instructional strategies and evaluation practices that might be useful to them in making their classrooms, schools and society democratic.

In our conversations one of the education officials (Mehrunissa), reflecting on the present status of social studies in the Pakistani curriculum, pointed out that curriculum developers had not recognized "the possibilities it offers." She went on to say that social studies needed to be reconceptualized. To realize its possibilities, the education officials and the teachers suggested that the social studies curriculum include the study of Pakistani society (micro and macro perspectives) history, culture, traditions, the good and the bad. Comparative studies of the political, social and economic systems of Pakistan with other countries would provide insight into what required to be preserved and what needed to be changed in Pakistani society.

The study of social issues was given importance because students became knowledgeable about the issue, and in inquiring into it, learned to ask questions, analyze, think critically, solve problems, and make decisions. Shagufta suggested this was essential, because Pakistanis had become used to criticizing but not to finding ways to improve or change their society. This was reflected in my conversations with the education officials. Both educational officials and teachers limited inquiry to problem-solving and making decisions in the classroom. Through our conversations, the education officials acknowledged possibilities of action, with Shagufta suggesting civil society involve schools in action and Anila demonstrating it is possible. The teachers suggested students learn how to locate and gather information from a variety of sources and critically analyze the information to recognize particular interests and biases to become informed citizens. Students, they argued, also needed to learn communication and interpersonal skills such as expressing oneself clearly, listening to others, confidence to challenge others view, information to support one's own viewpoint, as well as the openness and willingness to change one's view in the interest of justice and equity.

The teachers used cooperative learning both as a teaching strategy and as a means of creating a democratic community within the classroom. In Malik's classroom students came from a community where cooperation is a way of life. The students possessed an innate knowledge of cooperation and had many of the requisite skills, thus creating community was easier than in Salma's classroom where students were not willing to even share their ideas with each other. Salma recognized that, because her students were used

to working individually and competitively, she had to carefully design group-building activities, teach interpersonal skills, initially have students work in pairs and then in small groups, gradually moving students from individualistic and competitive ways of learning to more cooperative ways. The teachers wanted the academic and social benefits that accrue from using cooperative learning for their students but their aim in developing a cooperative learning environment was to build a democratic community in the social studies classroom.

The active participation of all required deliberations and decision making in a democracy that calls for students to have good discussion skills. The teachers learned that good discussion skills were insufficient for democratic citizenship, students also needed knowledge about the subject to engage in fruitful discussion. The teachers recognized how good communication skills can hide lack of knowledge. For successful discussion, a number of skills are essential. These include listening, asking questions, providing evidence in support of ideas and so on. Many of these skills can be taught independently, but teachers found they were best learned when they modeled them in a discussion and encouraged students to demonstrate them when engaging in discussion.

During the research all three teachers engaged their students in an inquiry into a significant social issue. The benefits that accrued to the students and to the teachers themselves led them to suggest that the social studies curriculum become issues-centered. The benefits they identified were: (i) a true integration of curriculum occurred as information from the various disciplines was brought to bear on the study of an issue; (ii) critical inquiry of significant problems and issues has the potential to make students critical consumers and producers of knowledge; (iii) students found the study of social issues challenging as they acquired knowledge and applied skills and discovered the range of viewpoints held on the issue, questioned and developed values; (iv) the in-depth study of issues motivates students to act on their learnings; (v) the teachers discovered what being a professional meant. They felt intellectually challenged as they made curriculum decisions, facilitated students learning through designing a variety of activities and continually reflected on the practical concerns of what to do next and also on the moral and ethical concerns of the application of learning; (v) teachers became learners

inquiring into the social issues themselves; (vi) teachers became aware of the possibilities for democratic assessment practices and for assessing the knowledge, skills and dispositions they wanted their students to acquire.

Most inquiry of social issues is conducted in the safe confines of the classroom in which students solve problems or make decisions based on their findings but do not to act on them. Exposure of Salma's and Anila's students to the reality of working children provoked questions of why their own reality was so different from the reality of child laborers. The in-depth study of the issue and a first-hand look at the reality motivated students to act on their learnings. The inquiry helped teachers see how their work in school can help students understand the social issues in their society and work towards changing society. Inquiry opened up possible ways in which schools can be involved in addressing issues in the larger society. Social studies aimed at preparing students for democratic citizenship should encourage students to study social issues and take responsible action based on them.

Two very important implications for teaching and learning emerged from the employment of teaching practices that were participatory, dialogical, inquiring and cooperative. First, the traditional distant and often antagonistic relationship between teacher and students was replaced by a caring and cooperative relationship. Teachers shared their authority with the students, became less controlling and the classroom became a place where both teacher and students became learners and teachers. Second, as students learned a number of skills and dispositions, teachers began to see the inadequacy of paper-pencil tests and the need for more authentic assessment practices. Assessment, teachers argued, should become more democratic with students assessing themselves and their colleagues.

During the research, the teachers made curriculum decisions in the selection of content, designing of activities, choice of pedagogical strategies and became conscious of alternatives to paper-pencil tests. The thoughtfulness required in making curriculum decisions, the worry regarding one's actions and students' response, the pride and satisfaction of successful actions, the disappointment when things did not turn out as expected made the teachers realize the complexity of teaching. They found teaching need

not be a repetition of monological performances but that it is challenging yet exciting, deeply satisfying but also exhausting work.

Reconceptualizing Teacher Education for Democracy

Essential to a reconceptualization of social studies as education for democratic citizenship is the teacher. Current teacher training practices in Pakistan, described earlier, can serve only to prepare students for dictatorship. Efforts to change these practices have resulted in preparing teachers who are more humanistic. Humanistic teaching practices, while essential, are insufficient. Although classrooms become interesting and humane places, they do not challenge existing school practices and there supporting social forms. Teaching as the practice of democracy envisions the work of teachers as preparing students to create a democratic society by creating such a society in their own classrooms and working towards creating a democratic school and society. The insights gained from the research that can inform the practice of teacher education are outlined below.

The relationship between teacher identity and education for democratic citizenship delineated earlier in this chapter underscores the need for teacher education programs to provide opportunities for teachers to critically reflect on who they are, their purpose for wanting to be teachers, their educational biographies and the conception of the work of teacher formed through it. Besides understanding themselves as teachers, they need to undertake an analysis of the culture of schools and the larger society in which schools are situated. Teachers must explore "the dynamics of power and desire in educational life" (Britzman, 1991, p.242) and see the mutually influencing relationship that exists between themselves, the schools, and the larger society. This should be an ongoing process in teacher education programs so that teachers see how they are influenced by society and can influence society. The research revealed how powerful teaching can be if teachers are involved in making curriculum decisions based on an understanding of their students and their contexts. An important part of teacher education programs should be the preparation of teachers as curriculum developers. Teachers could engage in the process of curriculum development by identifying democratic principles, formulating goals based on these principles, analyzing the present curriculum in light of these principles,

developing curriculum in keeping with the principles, implementing and evaluating it.

As important part of teacher education is preparing teachers for their role in the classroom. Teacher should be prepared to teach the social studies curriculum they developed, but at the same time encouraged to continually engage in critical reflection to see how it can be improved or changed. In a resource-deprived environment like Pakistan, teacher education programs should prepare teachers with the skills and dispositions required to acquire knowledge from a variety of sources but also to have teachers see themselves and their students as producers of knowledge by encouraging them to generate knowledge from reflection on their own experiences. However, teachers' experiences may reflect sexist, racist, classist values that should be subjected to reflection and thoughtful action to change them.

In a context where only one teaching method is used, teachers require knowledge of and practice in a variety of instructional skills and strategies, but more importantly, recognize how teaching strategies can be used to serve aims and purposes that are not democratic. An important component of preparing teachers for their role in the classroom is teaching practice. In teacher education programs, practice is often subservient to theory. Often teachers are expected to read and apply or see a demonstration and then use the strategy in real classrooms. This research indicates more than demonstration or instruction is needed. Teachers need to be shown how, and then supported as they apply the strategies in their own classrooms. Currently examinations and what they measure often guide classroom practices. Teachers should be exposed to authentic assessment practices and encouraged to have students participate in their own assessment.

The learnings that accrued and the empowerment of teachers that resulted from the teachers researching their practice suggests that teachers must be prepared as researchers. Autobiographical and narrative inquiry can result from the telling of their stories; historical and ethnographic studies can be undertaken as teachers study schools and the larger society to see how things have come to be the way they are, why they are so and how they should be. As teachers begin to teach in the classroom their practice should become the subject of their research. The action research in this study revealed that teacher educators should help teachers subject their practice to reflection, uncovering the

theories underpinning their practice and thinking of ways to act based on insights from their reflections.

The study revealed that, besides facilitating teachers' understanding of their practice and change in practice, action research can also bring about change in the material conditions and practices of school and the larger society. The research also shows that action research is more powerful when undertaken collaboratively, as teachers see their efforts as part of a larger effort to change. They are also willing to take risks and it results in collaboration and collegiality among teachers. Action research helps teachers move away from the notion of teacher as expert and to see the true complexity and evolutionary nature of teaching. Because of these outcomes, action research should become an essential part of the teacher education curriculum.

During the action research the teachers gave voice to the way beliefs and practices in the larger society constrained their desires. The recognition that society influences classroom practice means that action to change classroom practice should also include actions to change the larger context in which they occur. This requires that teachers also be prepared as active and responsible citizens. The study of social issues in the context of the teacher education program will provide an avenue for teachers to participate in actions based on their study. Another practice could be to expose teachers to the work of various citizen groups, encouraging them to become active participants in these groups. Teacher education programs should encourage teachers to see their work as teachers as taking place in schools, as well as in the larger society. In a developing country like Pakistan, reconceptualizing teachers' work as being in school and in the society is essential for bringing about a democratic society.

I have identified liberatory praxis as the conception of citizenship education most suitable to preparing students for democratic citizenship in Pakistan. In a Muslim country, liberatory praxis would be rooted in the teachings of the *Qur'an* and *sunnah*. Teacher education programs should prepare teachers to read and understand the *Qur'an's* revolutionary and liberatory message. Teachers should be encouraged to read the *Qur'an* from the side of the *mustad'afun* and, in light of that reading, respond to the sociopolitical realities of contemporary society.

I have identified above six broad areas of work of teachers and how teacher education programs can prepare teachers for them. Teacher education should itself become democratic including prospective and in-service teachers in making decisions regarding the curriculum of their program. Teacher educators must model what they want teachers to learn therefore critical reflection, collegiality and collaboration, a questioning and inquiring stance, openness to learning and active and responsible participation in the society form the context in which teacher education occurs.

Towards Democracy: Changing Schools from the Bottom-Up

The purpose of schools, the education officials observed, had changed from preparing students for responsible citizenship to certification for jobs and admission to institutions of higher learning. The teachers, all newer entrants to the field of education, saw the purpose of social studies education as preparing students to pass exams. Even the Visiting Teacher Program (VTP) had not resulted in teachers seeing a change in the purpose of social studies education. Instead it had made the teachers aware of how the ideas and practices learned in the program could be used to make their classroom more humanistic and enable students to score better on exams.

Preparing students to pass the exams has become the sole purpose of most Pakistani schools. Examinations exert a formidable influence on schools in Pakistan for a number of reason: (i) the lack of schools to meet the demand for education and the lack of quality schools, so that admission to school is often based on an examination; (ii) the pyramid structure of the system allows only a certain number of students to move to the next tier examinations help in making decisions about who drops out; (iii) the system is based on tracking, examinations make tracking appear fair as examination results determine the track a student will take; (iv) the Cambridge/Matriculation examination has come to be seen as the criterion by which not only students but teachers and schools are evaluated. School structures and processes are therefore geared to preparing students to pass exams.

During the research the education officials called for a complete restructuring of schools to serve the preparation of responsible citizens. The teachers proposed the

preparation of democratic citizens as the vision for restructuring efforts and as the purpose of social studies education. Restructuring schools to become sites for the preparation of democratic citizens will require that schools be structured democratically and that they use democratic processes at all levels. This study demonstrates the potential of action research to facilitate the restructuring process from the bottom-up in Pakistani schools.

Through the action research, the heads themselves came to see the need for school restructuring. Mrs. H..... the head of the Cambridge section of Saleemullah Private School after closely following the inquiry process, Salma, had her students engaged in, expressed dissatisfaction with the emphasis on preparing students for examinations in the school and wanted all the students in the school to engage in the study of social issues. She hoped that, as a result of the study of social issues, the students would become involved in community service. As the research progressed, the head of Iqbal Public School began to see the possibility of restructuring the school. He moved from the passive role of "letting happen" to the more active role of "making happen" by taking on the role of a teacher, so that a teacher would be free to work with Malik. Heads and teachers in Pakistani schools want change, but do not know how to go about restructuring their schools.

According to Sarason (1990), restructuring schools requires that changes in teacher development, curriculum and change in school organization be undertaken simultaneously. Restructuring, according to Sarason, requires changes in power relationships, roles and responsibilities in the school. During the action research a number of changes did occur in the power relationships, roles and responsibilities of the heads, the teachers and the students.

The action research began in the classroom, as teachers have most autonomy there. As the teachers created a caring and cooperative classroom environment and used more participatory and dialogical instructional strategies, the power relationships among students and between the teachers and students began to change. Teachers shared their authority with the students, listening to their voice and respecting it and giving them some choice. In Iqbal Public School the existing power relationships among teachers started to

change as teachers began working together and learning from each other. The head of Iqbal Public School, who had hitherto seen his role solely as administrator, took on the role of teacher to facilitate teachers working together. His taking on the role of teacher could have implications for changes in the power relationship between the head and teachers.

Significant changes occurred in the traditional roles of students and teachers. Students in all the three classrooms were no longer passive but active participants in their learning. In working cooperatively, in engaging in discussions, in the inquiry, the students took on the role of teacher, teaching their colleagues and sharing ideas and experiences that facilitated the learning of others. The students in Jinnah Private School insisted they be allowed to act on their learning, thus opening up possibilities for students to participate in actions to bring about change in the larger society. The students of Iqbal Public School insisted they be taught as Malik's class was being taught. This resulted in the head becoming a teacher to facilitate teachers working together. Significant and empowering changes in the role of the teachers also occurred. The teachers became students seeing the necessity of learning alternative practices. They made curriculum decisions -- deciding on content, instructional strategies and designing activities to promote student learning. They became researchers, researching their own teaching practice to ensure they served the preparation of democratic citizens.

A change in roles resulted in a change in responsibilities. In Iqbal Public School, Malik was asked to prepare the examination paper and the head gave him the freedom to include what the students had been learning in the classroom. In Jinnah Private School, when Anila met with her head to ask for permission for her students to engage in the signature campaign, she spoke to the head about the need to change the social studies curriculum to include the study of social issues and to change the examination practices to suit the teaching that would occur in social studies classrooms. The head asked her to prepare a curriculum based on her ideas and to be ready to defend it to the principal. In Saleemullah Private School, the head asked Salma to take responsibility for involving the students in the other classes in the study of social issues.

Throughout the research the teachers themselves were changing. Initially they felt

alone and wondered if the efforts by one teacher would make a difference. When the teachers began to work collaboratively, they felt supported knowing other teachers were engaged in similar efforts and were challenged to engage in practices they had never thought possible. Collaboration provided moral and material support, it encouraged the teachers to take risks, it provided opportunities for increased reflection as teachers engaged in self and collaborative reflection helping them to develop more defensible reasons for their practice. Collaboration provided teachers the opportunities to learn from each other and to see teaching not as an individual but as a collaborative process in which teachers work together to improve their own and each other's practice.

There has been much rhetoric about education in Pakistan. Every government decries the state of education and, in keeping with their ideology, brings out an education policy that seeks to restructure the whole education system. Even though Pakistan has moved through a variety of political systems teaching and learning in social studies classrooms has proved resistant to change. Citizenship transmission remains the predominant conception of citizenship education in social studies classrooms in Pakistan.

The education officials have noted that the present education system is thoroughly undemocratic and have called for a comprehensive restructuring to address the issues of bureaucratic centralization, quality, quantity and relevance. Most often such calls result in efforts at change from the top. Top-down changes, history has shown, have not been effective; but, this does not mean that efforts should not be made to change the system from the top. Changes from the top in keeping with democratic principles would greatly facilitate changes in schools and classrooms in Pakistan. This study, however, has demonstrated that there is another way to restructure schools in Pakistan, a process that begins in teachers' classrooms. Actions taken in the classroom gradually serve to bring about changes in the material conditions and practices of the school and have potential to effect change in the larger society.

This study was undertaken to inform my own practice as a teacher of social studies, a teacher educator and a citizen of Pakistan. The above section on the insights from the research to educate for democratic citizenship directly informs my practice. My practice does take place in a university whose stated aim is the improvement of the

education in the developing world through school improvement. Drawing on the research, the following recommendations are being made for the Institute for Educational Development, Aga Khan University. First, the power of action research to bring about the restructuring of schools from the bottom-up suggests that teacher education programs at the university prepare teachers to engage in action research. This requires introducing teachers to the theory and providing opportunities for practice. Collaborative action research as this study indicates is a powerful process because in collaborating teachers feel they are not alone in their efforts to change, the challenge and support of colleagues allows them to take risks so important for change. The teacher education program must promote the development of collegial and collaborative relations among the teachers.

Second, faculty members must engage in collaborative action research with teachers in schools to facilitate change in their practice and in the structure and processes of school. The teachers' educational biography, teacher training and the culture of schools reinforce the view that knowledge transmission is the only way to teach as a result teaching in most Pakistani schools is a monological performance, performed by apathetic and cynical teachers. But, as the research demonstrates, the heads of schools and teachers want change but do not know how to bring about that change. Changing practice that is entrenched and constantly reinforced requires that teacher educators work with teachers to "show" them alternative practices and then to support and challenge collegial groups of teachers in their effort to change their practice, their schools and the larger society.

Third, we are a small faculty but have a visionary and committed staff. I believe we need to share our vision and expertise with the government colleges of education so that we can influence the teachers who are being trained there. I believe a modified action research methodology might be a way to work with the teacher educators at these colleges.

Fourth, this study has demonstrated the mutually influencing relationship between school and society. It has clearly shown that the education officials and teachers envision a democratic Pakistan. Our work at the IED, AKU must help education officials and teachers translate their vision into education policies and practices that will serve the

realization of their vision.

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Appendix A

The Aga Khan University
Institute for Educational Development
February 22, 1999

Dear.....

I am writing on behalf of Ms. Bernadette L. Dean, a faculty member of the Institute for Educational Development of the Aga Khan University. She is presently a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Alberta. In order to fulfill requirements for a Ph.D. she is conducting her dissertation research aimed at assessing the potential of social studies to educate for democratic citizenship and national development in Pakistan.

In order to inquire into the question she proposes to engage in research conversations with a number of significant educators and policy makers. She has requested you in her research given the key role you play in curriculum development in Pakistan. This would involve a minimum of three conversations of approximately ninety minutes duration. The transcription of each conversation would be made available to you for verification prior to the following conversation. Confidentiality and anonymity of all information will be maintained as stated in the summary of the research proposal. If you agree, please sign the enclosed consent form and mail or fax it to her at the IED, AKU so that she can arrange dates and times convenient to you for the conversations.

Please find enclosed a brief summary of the research proposal. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask. If you are interested in more information about the research please intimate her and she will provide a more detailed version.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Sadruddin Pardhan
Associate Director

SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH PROPOSAL

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How can we realize the potential of social studies education for democratic citizenship? What does it mean for teacher development and curriculum development?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methods that will support the inquiry into the research question are critical analysis of the education policies, social studies curriculum and a representative sample of social studies textbooks; observation of teaching and learning and related social processes in classrooms and schools; and research conversations with educators involved in teaching and policy making.

RESEARCH SCHEDULE

Data collection for the research will be carried out from January to June 1999. School and classroom observations as well as research conversations will be carried throughout this period. Dates and timings for the above will be negotiated with each participant.

WHY AND FOR WHOM IS THE RESEARCH BEING DONE

The research is being done specifically to fulfill requirements for a Ph.D. More importantly it is being done to see what role social studies can play in preparing students to think critically about their society, envision a more just and peaceful society, and work collaboratively to realize this vision. The findings of the study will facilitate the development of curricula and programs for schools and for the professional development of teachers.

ROLE OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Teachers	-allow the researcher to observe her/his classroom over the term
	-engage in conversations with the researcher
	-read transcriptions of the conversations for verification.
Education Officials	-engage in conversations with the researcher

-read transcriptions of the conversation for verification.

PARTICIPANTS RIGHTS

Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw anytime during the research. The right to confidentiality of information will be ensured by maintaining anonymity. Anonymity of all raw data will be ensured by coding. The codes will be known only to the researcher and stored in a place accessible only by the researcher. Analysis will be conducted in such a manner so as to make it impossible to identify individual respondents. To ensure anonymity in the written document pseudonyms will be used. All raw data and analysis will be stored with the researcher and be accessible only to the research.

CONSENT FORM

I _____ have read the summary of the research proposal. My signature below attests that:

I am agreeing to participate in the research and realize that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without any penalty.

I will not be identified as the source of any information I give, by name, position or institutional affiliation.

I am granting permission to the researcher to use the data I provide for any academic/professional purpose.

_____

Signature of the research participant

_____

Date

Appendix B
SYLLABUS FOR CLASS V
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

Objectives	Concepts	Contents	Activities	Methodology	Evaluation
Cognitive 1. To understand the Hindu Muslim differences and need for Pakistan. 2. To get acquainted with the personalities who worked for the independence of Pakistan. 3. To be aware of the forces working against Pakistan. 4. To get acquainted with the freedom movement. **Affective** 1. Fear of Allah. 2. Patriotism. 3. Service to Humanity. 4. Devotion to Muslim brotherhood. 5. Preservation of the ideology and integrity and security of Pakistan **Psycho-motor** 1. To trace and fill in the map. 2. To deliver speech.	1. Ideology of Pakistan. 2. Muslim Millat 3. Two nation theory. 4. Struggle. 5. Self-sacrifice. 6. Initiative. 7. Jehad.	**History** 1. Hindu Muslim difference in cultures. 2. Need for establishment of independent Muslim state. 3. Ideology of Pakistan. 4. India's evil designs against Pakistan (The three wars with India). 5. Kashmir problem. 6. Need for the security and progress of Pakistan.	1. To show the Muslim majority provinces on an out-line map of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent before independence. 2. To listen to the talks on the essential features of Muslim culture. 3. Visits to the places of historical importance. 4. To make speeches on Jehad and Shahadat. 5. To listen to special programmes and broadcasts on Muslim history and culture. 6. To participate in the congregational prayers.	1. Activity Method. 2. Narrative Method. 3. Developmental Method. 4. Discussion Method. 5. Creative Method.	1. Observing the keenness of the pupils about the national programme. 2. To note down the reaction of the pupils about wars with India. 3. To judge their spirits while making speeches on Jehad and Shahadat, Muslim History and culture. 4. To evaluate individuals assignment.

Appendix C

Questions to Facilitate our Research Conversation

1. What are the cultural, political, economic issues and concerns facing Pakistani society?
2. How is democracy presently practiced in Pakistan?
3. What is your understanding of democracy?
4. Do you think democracy is viable in the cultural milieu of Pakistan?
5. What society do you envision for Pakistan?
6. What is the purpose of school?
7. How are schools functioning today?
8. Why have schools (content, methodology, evaluation practices, teacher-student relationship, student-student interaction) come to be the way they are today?
9. Whose interest are they serving?
10. What opportunities and means exist or can be created for schools to challenge the present system and prepare students for democratic citizenship?
11. What is the purpose of social studies in the school curriculum?
12. What is the present status of social studies in the school curriculum?
13. What historical and social forces have influenced, constrained, or promoted social studies education in Pakistan?
14. What alternative understandings and practices of social studies can we explore to prepare our students as democratic citizens.
15. What knowledge, skills, and attitude will students have to develop, what action will they have to engage in to become responsible and participatory citizens?